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The Week

CONGRESSIONAL inquiries into the conduct of the war may reveal mistakes and weaknesses in personnel and methods and will undoubtedly suggest ways of improvement, but it is gratifying to feel that there is no prospect of those "scandals" for which the ardent imagination yearns. And even such disappointments as we are likely to experience will be tempered by honest recognition of the enormous problems which the Administration and the War Department are facing. It is well that the Congressional investigations have come. This war, above all others, has been no respecter of persons and reputations. Everywhere it has broken down strong men, and nowhere has the ideal of 100 per cent. efficiency and a straight record of bull's-eyes been attained. Even in disciplined and trained and prepared Germany there has been a heavy mortality among chiefs of the General Staff, heads of Admiralty, food dictators, foreign ministers, and Chancellors. We need only recall that in Germany the defeat at the Marne has been openly attributed to a shortage of ammunition, to get some measure of the allowance that must be made for human fallibility and human limitations. This does not mean that a fair administrator should be retained where a better one is available; but it is a just argument against panic.

TREASON still stalks abroad among our intellectuals, and on both sides of the water. It is bad enough to have Lord Lansdowne supported by Gilbert Murray and others, and to hear Charles W. Eliot in the middle of our war for the destruction of militarism calmly declaring that we shall have to go in for unlimited militarism ourselves as soon as the war is over, when the destruction of all militarism is one of our chief war aims. But here is Dean Inge, of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, going so far as to say: "We were told that this war would never be ended until German militarism was destroyed. That programme was always hopeless; we see now it is absurd. We cannot even destroy the German army, and if we could, we should not thereby destroy German militarism." Men have been arrested and put in jail in America for saying this sort of thing, but Dean Inge went ahead and moved a resolution in the British Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches to the effect that a just and lasting peace could only be secured by applying the Christian principles of reconciliation and the brotherhood of mankind to all relationships between nations. It is for taking a similar view that our own Bishop Jones, of Utah, has been asked by the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church to resign his bishopric. The sin of believing in methods of the spirit is not to be tolerated in these days of physical conquest.

MR. HOOVER'S straightforward statement as to the sugar situation, drawn from him by Mr. Claus Spreckels's testimony before the Senate Committee on Agriculture, adds much to our knowledge of the basic facts. He tells us that this country of slightly over a hundred millions has had about 500,000 tons of sugar in the last two months, which is nearly five pounds per capita per month. This amount, which seems liberal enough, is placed at 70 per cent. of our normal consumption. We shall have a ration of nearly five pounds each per month again in December, if the cars are available. This is twice the French monthly ration, and is quite as much as is good for normal human beings, our usual consumption being regarded as excessive. By cutting down our consumption from over seven to five pounds monthly, we have been able to send considerable exports to France, and Mr. Hoover rightly says that the American people are proud of doing so. Probably after December there will be more sugar available, but by maintaining the economy which has thus far been partially forced we shall be able to do just so much more for the hard-pressed Allies.

THERE will be general approval of the President's proclamation stipulating for the most lenient treatment of Austrian subjects resident in the United States. On the day when the Senate voted to declare war upon Austria, Senator Knox, of Pennsylvania, made an urgent plea for considerate dealing with Austrians in this country. He pointed out the numbers of them employed in our basic industries, and strongly argued that there was no reason to suppose that they would not be law-abiding or stick to their useful work, if not interfered with. Technically enemy aliens, a great many of them, especially the Bohemians, are hostile to the Austrian Government. The custodian of the property of enemy aliens, Mr. Palmer, has announced that, except in rare instances, he will seize nothing belonging to Austrians. That the sensible and generous course adopted by our Government in the matter is appreciated by the Austrians living here is seen in the grateful expressions of their leading newspaper published in the United States.

THE odds were plainly too great against Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but the sweeping character of his defeat in the West had been expected neither by the Liberals nor by the Bordenites. The victory plainly means that the Anglo-Saxon people of Canada propose to put their whole strength into this war just as long as it lasts and that they are not willing to swap horses while crossing the stream, lest the change be misinterpreted abroad. The gravity of the situation is that it is a straight-out line-up of French Canadians against Anglo-Saxons. In the entire Province of Quebec not a single Unionist was elected outside of three districts in the city of Montreal. That province is as emphatically on record as it is possible for a section to be that it does not wish conscription. What is going to happen? Who is going to force Quebec to enforce the Conscription law? The outlook is the more unhappy because, in addition to the racial cleavage, the religious line was very clearly drawn. This makes a demand upon Sir Robert Borden's statesmanship and breadth of view and tolerance which will be heavy, indeed. As he has been returned with a larger majority than he had hoped for, it is his opportunity and his duty to display the greatest possible wisdom and magnanimity towards the French Canadians

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lest there arise grave complications. It is at least reassuring that the victory for Borden is so decisive that it cannot be attributed to his juggling with the franchise.

OF the many possibilities inherent in the four weeks' armistice between Bolshevik Russia and the armies of the Central Powers, the one unavoidable and immediate outcome will be a revival of discussion concerning war aims and peace aims, and that not only for Russia, which has officially begun to discuss peace, but for all the belligerents. We need only think how every peace move and peace suggestion down to the thinnest of rumors has been seized upon for debate, and then we have only to recall that the negotiations between the Bolsheviki and the Teutons will bring forward the issue more pressingly and more concretely than even the most definite of official pronouncements from any source hitherto. One cannot imagine the western members of the Entente, on the one hand, or the ruling powers in Germany on the other, sitting by indifferent when Trotzky begins to ask questions relative to matters other than those affecting Russia, as he is bound to do. It is doubtful whether German skill will be equal to the task of keeping the Russians down to the "local" Russian issue. There must emerge the questions of Belgium, Servia, Armenia, Alsace-Lorraine. Hitherto Berlin has complained that if only the Allies would consent to ask questions around a conference table, it would gladly answer. Now there is a conference table.

MEANWHILE there is reassurance in the definite intimation that the Allied Governments will pursue a policy of self-restraint in Russia; we need not speculate for the moment whether it is to take the form of recognizing the Bolsheviki, or treating with the Bolsheviki, or only "viewing the Reds with tolerance," as the New York *World* explains it. How could it be otherwise? Russia has not yet stepped out of the war, as Lloyd George said the other day. There is the month's armistice; there are the long peace negotiations to follow. But put it at the worst and say that Russia will make her separate peace, what is the situation then? Russia has ceased to be a belligerent and has become a neutral. What would be the normal attitude of the Allies towards a neutral of Russia's importance, if, say, Russia had never been in the war? Nearly a year's efforts went into the winning of Italy for the Entente. A longer period was spent with Rumania and Greece. After three and a half years of war we still think neutral Scandinavia a subject of importance. What then of neutral Russia with her great potentialities for shaping the war even when her armies are out of it? We still believe that Russia calls for as much serious thinking by the Allies as any problem of the war.

A "FIGHTING speech" is what the exigencies of the present situation demanded from Lloyd George, whatever might be his inner beliefs and feelings. Germany as a whole may not to-day be drunk with boastfulness, but a case can be made out for a resolute front by the Allies against the new problems and tasks which the turn of events in Russia may bring any day. Once that is said, there is no ascertainable reason for Lloyd George's insistence at the present moment upon "victory" as the only way towards a peace of reconciliation, a League of Nations, and disarmament. If the British Premier is afraid to enter into a compact with an unbeaten Germany, he is supplying the militarists at Berlin with a counter argument: they will ask the German people whether it can afford to think of reconciliation and coöperation with an unbeaten Entente. Better than an announcement of "victory" as the goal of the Allies would have been the announcement of a concrete war purpose, the statement in definite terms of the irreducible minimum of righteous and necessary demands for which the Entente is prepared to fight to the last. A bold formulation of Allied resolve to hold grimly to the task of exacting just reparation and essential guarantees need not have meant playing into the hands of the Junkers.

THE demand for an investigation into the causes of the British defeat around Cambrai, voiced by Northcliffe's press and reëchoed in the House of Commons, has been described as part of a campaign against Sir Douglas Haig and as entering into the question of a single Allied generalissimo for the entire western front. Such far-reaching consequences may or may not follow upon an investigation, but there is one valuable military lesson which should emerge, and that is whether there is any solid merit in the tactics of surprise as practiced by Gen. Byng, or whether the established tactics of formidable artillery preparation, followed by a swift rush and consolidation of conquered positions, is the only sound one. Gen. Nivelle, in the April offensive on the Aisne, was the first to bring into play the tactics of surprise. His experiment was a costly failure, and its lessons appeared conclusive. Gen. Byng's recent success seemed to justify a revision of judgment on Nivelle's method. The French failure in April might be explained by accidental causes and not by any essential fault of method. But now comes the disconcerting German counter-stroke, and the question is once more an open one. Was the loss of ground, prisoners, and guns to the Germans due to carelessness and overconfidence? Or has it been demonstrated that a zone conquered by surprise, and without preliminary demolition of enemy trenches and demoralization of the enemy, cannot be consolidated rapidly enough to withstand a powerful counter-offensive? Did the British infantry outrun its guns and supply facilities, or did British leadership break down? The question is important for the future of military tactics.

OUR own shortage of coal is working hardships, and may yet cause greater, but till now the lack of fuel in this country has had nothing like the alarming results it is reported to have had in Germany. It is a pitiful state of affairs especially in Berlin which is described by the *Vorwärts*. The sufferings of the poor are intense. "They have been forced to go cold, hungry, and filthy." The city gas and electricity works and transportation services are so short of coal that partial stoppage is imminent. But it is the people in their homes who feel that they are on the verge of a "catastrophe." This picture drawn by the Socialist newspaper, with its attacks upon a do-nothing Government, may be somewhat highly colored. But trustworthy information from other sources warrants the belief that the coal famine is as acute in Germany as it is in France and Italy.

IS President Wilson's letter in support of a Republican, Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, for reëlection, a forecast of a policy of *status quo* concerning the composition of the

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Senate, at least with reference to Senators who are holding up the hands of the Administration? Presidents are not in the habit of exerting themselves in behalf of Congressmen of the opposite party, but Wilson would have Senator Nelson retained against the Senator's own preference and in spite of failing health. Senator Nelson's ability and his knowledge of international law are the considerations assigned by the President for his attitude, and when one recalls that the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is Stone of Missouri, one realizes the sincerity of the Presidential appeal. Nelson is not even a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, but that is not a vital matter. He can render the "invaluable services" of which Wilson speaks from his place on the floor. As significant as the letter is the response it has evoked in Nelson's State, where it is reported to meet with the approval of Democratic leaders. The event is as complimentary to a veteran Senator—Nelson is finishing his fourth term—as it is novel.

WHAT has become of the Philippine experts who once predicted ruin if the displacement of Americans by natives continued as it had begun under the Democratic Administration? The latest Civil Service report shows this displacement going steadily on. At the beginning of 1913 there were 2,623 Americans in the Philippine service, or about the number maintained every year since 1905. At the beginning of 1914 there were 2,148; of 1915, 1,935; of 1916, 1,730; and of 1917, 1,475—a reduction of 1,150 in four years. Of the number left all are subordinates except 62 chiefs or assistant chiefs of bureaus and offices. The Filipinos appointed during the year numbered 1,579, and the Americans 33; the Filipinos promoted were 1,278, and the Americans 363. The great agency in last year's reduction of the American personnel was the new act providing that any employee who has served six years continuously may receive retirement with a liberal gratuity if the Governor-General approves his application. The gratuity was a reward for proffering application, and all but fifty of the thousand and more Americans eligible took advantage of the opportunity; about 300 retirements were granted. Filipinos who applied were refused except when incapacitated, because the act was primarily intended "to facilitate a reduction of salary expenditure and the Filipinization of the service." Yet has any one heard of chaos and disruption in the Philippines?

A NICE question affecting the rights of labor unions was decided by the Supreme Court the first of last week, three judges dissenting. To say that the Court upheld the "open shop" is misleading. As in many previous decisions, it fully recognized the right of laboring men to organize and to make collective bargains respecting wages, working conditions, and so on. In fact, the Court was asked to declare a certain miners' union a conspiracy in restraint of trade, and so illegal, but this it refused to do. It did maintain, however, the right of employers to conduct their business on the basis of the open shop, with the free assent of their workmen, and to be safe from measures by the unions designed to compel them to unionize their shops. In other words, the free contract between an employer and his men may be a part of the good will of a business, and hence a property right with which outsiders may not lawfully interfere. Thus the decision of the Court is of restricted scope, and its application may not be practically of great importance. The principle is a sound one, however, so long as we are under a régime of free contract, and in laying it down the Supreme Court has given one more proof of its desire to hold the scales even in all these interpretations of the laws bearing on the rights of labor unions.

THE number of British war pensions already granted is reported to be in the neighborhood of 900,000. How large a part of these pensions will become a permanent charge on the nation, it seems impossible at the present moment to say. No statement has been made as to how many of them go to widows, orphans of men killed at the front, or to dependents of soldiers disabled for life. Nevertheless, the number must be very great, great enough to stagger the imagination. If our Civil War brought us a pension list of near a million names, the British, with their five million men in the military service, may well reckon on an after-war pension list providing for at least three times as many beneficiaries as ours at its most exuberant.

IT is too early to assume that the recent revolution in Portugal was entirely fomented by the extreme radicals and advocates of peace. Heretofore, and ever since the monarchy's overthrow, the frequent Portuguese revolts and uprisings were caused largely by a combination of two factors. On the one hand, there were the country districts, especially the northern provinces, with Oporto as their capital, which had always been intensely Catholic, and therefore strongly opposed to the anti-Catholic republic. On the other hand were the railway, telegraph, and telephone employees, who stood, usually, at the opposite pole of religious and political belief. These two elements often found it expedient to unite in an attempt to turn out the moderate, liberal Government. Early reports indicated that Oporto and the northern districts again led in the present revolution. Hence, until more definite news is received, the hypothesis seems tenable that the party which has seized power includes at least some extremely conservative elements. Whether these representatives of the Catholic and monarchist part of the country will, because of their hostility to republicanism, also be pro-German and anti-war, remains to be seen.

TWO German ladies, no doubt heavily veiled, are reported to have been seen recently stealing up to the statue of Frederick the Great, in Berlin, and depositing at the base thereof a wreath inscribed, "We need you now." Like most past historical incidents, this one is probably only the figment of some idle correspondent's brain, but as an indication of what the Germans think it may not be without value. It has often been pointed out that the bad example of Frederick, who was allowed to get away with Silesia, has been lurking in the background of many German minds during this war. What these Germans do not realize is that Old Fritz took seven years to legitimatize his burglary and that in the meantime Prussia suffered unspeakable woes. Berlin was occupied and burnt by the enemy. They ought to be taught instead that if they want to accomplish Frederick the Great's results, Germany of to-day will have to suffer infinitely greater hardships than did the Prussia of his time. To an unprejudiced observer it would seem as if Germany had had altogether too much Frederick the Great for its own and the world's good.

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Giving Up One War Aim

PRESIDENT ELIOT does not agree with President Wilson. The veteran of Harvard is despondent. Last October he came to the conclusion that the war had drifted into a stalemate; that neither side could conquer; and that upon that understanding peace negotiations ought to be initiated. Now he appears to believe that the war is to leave the world very much as before, except that America will be forced for her own safety to load herself down with armaments after the European fashion. Mr. Eliot sees nothing for it except compulsory and universal service in the United States. He is not, of course, alone in this position. There has been much talk in the press about the desirability of seizing the present opportunity to fasten universal military service upon our nation. Bills to effect it have been introduced in Congress. But the Secretary of War, in his annual report, takes the ground that nothing should be done to determine our permanent military system until the war ends and we find out whether disarmament all round is not possible. And President Wilson has made it clear that his view is the same. He would defer action until we know what action, if any, is desirable. This being the attitude of the Administration, it is not to be expected that bills to establish universal military service will be pressed at this session.

One thing should be clearly understood. If this country hurries into the kind of militarism that France and Italy and Germany and Austria have felt themselves forced to adopt, we shall be surrendering one, and perhaps the greatest, of our war aims. From the beginning until to-day, officially and semi-officially, by the utterances of President Wilson as by the assertions of the press and the deliverances of the pulpit, the United States has professed to be fighting for the establishment of the League of Nations, for an agreed disarmament, for international tribunals to hear and determine disputes between nations, and for an international police to keep the unruly in order. Americans said that they were girding on their armor in order to make it unnecessary for civilization to carry dirk and pistol. We vowed that we were reluctantly setting to work to build up a great American armament for the purpose of warring against the whole system of competitive armaments. Hell had broken loose on earth and we were willing to send our young men into its fires so that we might make sure that such infernal outbreaks should never again afflict the world.

Here, then, is a war aim which we have from the first put in the forefront. Are we now going to make haste to abandon it? Are we going to be so faint of heart that we shall despair in advance of exacting such terms of peace as square with our avowed intentions from the beginning? Nor is it merely a question of American war aims. The English are the same. So are the French. Mr. Asquith has repeatedly spoken of disarmament as one of the goals of the war. So has Lord Grey and Mr. Balfour and Lloyd George. Only this week we had a restatement of war aims by the English Labor party. It is admirably firm on the subject of righting Belgium's wrongs and restoring to France her own, but it is also explicit in the matter of insisting upon removing the burden of military armaments, after the war. French workingmen and Socialists have put themselves on record to the same effect. So have French statesmen. Disarmament as a result of the war is thus an Allied aim as well as an American. Why, we ask, this talk of giving it up before we are absolutely compelled to? The thing is really as much a surrender of what we set out to do as it would be to declare that it was useless to fight in order to make Germany lift her military hoof off Belgium. Let us stick to our guns until we know whether the world will not decide, after the war, to put its faith in something other than guns.

In the reply of Germany and of Austria to the Pope there was a profession of willingness to agree to universal disarmament. The Austrian Government has since been explicit on the point. Count Czernin and the Austrian Minister of War have spoken of the impossibility of keeping up armaments on even the scale previous to the war, to say nothing of their gigantic extension since. Now, we may sneer at these monkish professions of the devil sick, may call them rank inconsistency and poorly concealed hypocrisy, and all that. The fact remains, nevertheless, that the two nations of Europe which have shaped their policy for years on the basis of the highest armament possible have now publicly asserted their readiness to abandon the whole system. In other words, they have agreed in advance to this war aim of the United States. What sort of figure should we cut in cravenly giving up our great purpose just when the enemy was preparing to yield it?

The Investigation of the War Department

NO one in reading the testimony brought out in the investigation in Washington should underestimate the task before the Secretary of War when hostilities began. No more stupendous problem was ever placed upon the shoulders of an official, for this war means not only the creation of an army, but the mobilizing of half the industrial resources of the nation. Never before has it been true as in this struggle that every soldier must have behind him civilians variously estimated at from six to ten persons. Mr. Baker had a corps of subordinates under him accustomed all their lives to dealing with an army ranging from 25,000 to 100,000 men, equipped and trained without thought of the possibility of European warfare. There was endless red-tape and routine thinking to be overcome, and, above all, a great new fighting force to be trained and officered, equipped and armed. Now, to expect that this could all be done in six months, without errors of judgment or mistakes of policy, is to demand the impossible. We are living in extraordinary times, but not in the days of magic.

What Congress and the people wish to know now is, first, whether there were as few mistakes made as possible; secondly, whether all the vast resources of the country were levied on as quickly and thoroughly as possible; thirdly, whether the various bureaus in the War Department are functioning 100 per cent. efficiently; fourthly, whether the Secretary himself has the necessary ability and vision; and, fifthly, whether the delays in arming and equipping the troops now in cantonments were unavoidable. Finally, the country desires the assurance that its soldiers will at once be as well clothed as they are well fed. Now, it must be admitted that the testimony given by Gen. Crozier was not reassuring as to the ordnance situation. With machine guns a vital factor in any fighting, it appears that the United States will not be able to send a single new machine gun to France until April, and that the delay is owing to the time

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taken in adopting a new weapon, untried in field service, for which decision Gen. Crozier places the responsibility squarely upon the Secretary himself, stating that he was not and is not satisfied with the course proposed. There has long been a bitter controversy in the army as to the best type of machine gun, Gen. Wood favoring the Lewis, of which at least 20,000 are in service with the British and Belgian armies, and Gen. Crozier the Vickers, while the Benet-Mercier also has had its adherents. A year ago, in his annual report, Mr. Baker announced that the Board was at work picking out the best weapon; but valuable time was apparently lost here, and then a new gun, the Browning, chosen.

As for rifles, the forty-five divisions of the army, excepting those in France, have received less than one-third the rifles needed, and are drilling with a discarded weapon. While all the troops that have gone to France are well armed —presumably taking two guns to a man—the military training of men in cantonments is greatly delayed for lack of rifles. Gen. Crozier admits that those troops who have gone to France left without adequate training in the use of their weapons. This difficulty was intensified by the decision of the War Department last summer to alter the British Lee-Enfield rifle as to calibre and breech-fitting to accommodate American standard ammunition and thus avoid the use of two kinds of ammunition. The question here is whether this decision was a wise one, for we have enormous factories turning out the Enfield rifles for Great Britain. If they could have turned all their resources to the production of rifles for our army, it is asserted, there would be weapons in plenty both for the existing army and for the one to come. It is only fair to add that the head of the Marines, Gen. Pershing, Mr. Baker, the Chief of the War College, and the Chief of Staff agreed with the Ordnance Department that the correct course was followed. Gen. Crozier states positively that if we had commandeered all rifle and gun factories for our own purposes in April last, we should gravely have handicapped our allies, for whom many are working night and day.

As to heavy ordnance, there is no doubt that the situation is worse, and, whether proper expedition was used after the great appropriation of June, 1916, for preparation, and whether the ordnance efforts were sufficiently speeded up in January, February, and March of this year when war seemed to most of the high officials in Washington inevitable, and subsequently—that is, we take it, the crux of the inquiry, next to the question of present efficiency. It is an astounding fact that of the $100,000,000 of the emergency appropriation of April last not a dollar has been used for ordnance purposes, just as it is amazing to learn that it was not until two months after war was declared that Mr. Baker's machine-gun board, which began work as far back as the summer of 1916, decided on the new Browning weapon. All the artillery we are using in France is given us by France or England.

Finally, we warn again that this is no time to make shrill accusations. Secretary Baker has yet to be heard, and other officials, and the difficulties of the task are not to be overlooked for a moment. In every one of the Allied nations there have been similar difficulties, notably in England. Whatever the mistakes, we believe that it will be demonstrated that in Secretary Baker the United States has an official of most unusual devotion and ability, who has never lost sight of the ends to be attained. We cannot believe that he permitted any undue delay or that he has failed to use the brightest minds in the War Department, but it is plain that there will have to be a complete reorganization of that Department to fit the altered conditions, and this, the dispatches report, is now begun. That, too, would be merely paralleling the Allied experience. Certain it is that no more troops should be called out until clothing and rifles in plenty are on hand for them; to do otherwise would be wasteful and of no advantage at all.

Defending Waste

"WHAT I admire in all this," said Dr. Johnson, standing before a great country estate, "is its total disregard of expense." Something of this noble disdain appears to have entered into the Secretary of the Treasury. In his recent address at Washington in behalf of loans and war savings, Mr. McAdoo magnificently inquired, "What do we care about waste?" He added, naturally, that he meant only waste that would imply the saving of human life. But he took, all the same, a very easy-going position in regard to extravagance. There is always waste when war comes, averred the Secretary. Let us, however, "not think of the waste of dollars." "Let us not carp about expenditures, and so give aid and comfort to our enemies."

Such sentiments, which can so readily be construed in favor of lavish policies, come peculiarly with ill grace from a Secretary of the Treasury. We would not do Mr. McAdoo the unfairness of judging the whole tenor of his address by the brief extracts published. It is unfortunately the case that he has more than once failed to take sufficient care in getting his exact ideas before the public. Any utterance by the man in charge of the national finances ought to be well weighed, and given to the press in correct form. Nor are we denying that there is a certain force in what the Secretary said about the necessary extravagances of a war. Emergency cost is notoriously high; and the Government, since last April, has had to buy and build many things in an emergency. It is probably the case, also, that more or less experimenting has to be done, in order to ascertain what are the best standards in army and navy supplies and equipment; and this inevitably means apparent money losses. The sums spent in finding out what *not* to do may seem gratuitous waste, though in reality they may prove in the long run to be economy.

All this and much more of the same sort we freely admit. What jars, however, is the implication that waste in Government war expenditure is wholly negligible; that with billions to spend it is ridiculous to complain of the losing of mere millions; and that the proper attitude for the Government to take is "Hang the expense." The argument is that the necessary outlay is so tremendous that we ought not to concern ourselves over trifling waste here and there. In reality, the logic ought to run the other way. The very fact that the Government has to lay such enormous requisitions upon the people is an added reason for the most jealous watch over expenditure. It may seem delicate flattery to Uncle Sam to tell him that he is so rich that he does not need to care for petty savings, but we think the old gentleman would like it better to be assured that the Treasury into which he is pouring his money has vigilant watchdogs to prevent its being wasted. The fact is that the bigger the amounts that have to be raised by taxes and loans, the more rigid ought to be the spirit of economical administration.

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The country is in no spendthrift mood, and does not want its officials to be either.

For needless Government waste no defence is possible, though Secretary McAdoo, by the grandiloquent language he used, came near attempting it. Every dollar thrown away means a dollar more to be taken from the people in taxes or by borrowings. It is of no avail to say that the country has now become so habituated to thinking and talking in billions that extravagances running into the hundred thousand do not signify. The fact is that Americans are having to pinch and deny themselves. Governmental waste, translated into terms of the family budget, simply means giving up more than would otherwise be necessary. All of us, in truth, are exhorted by the Government to be sparing and thrifty. We are asked to save food and fuel and transportation; to avoid luxurious expenditures. Does it not, then, fall disagreeably on our ears when a Secretary of the Treasury talks loftily about forgetting all about waste in the use of public money, and bids us cease to inquire carefully into Government war outlay lest we bring joy to the heart of the Kaiser?

War is synonymous with waste, there is no doubt of that. Not only does it destroy vast amounts of capital as completely as if it were thrown into the sea, but in the process of getting destruction ready it is the prince of squanderers. This we must sorrowfully recognize. But it furnishes no reason for not saving all that can be snatched away; for not safeguarding war expenditures in every way within the wit of man; for not insisting upon Government economy as rigidly as upon private. How far away, in these lavish days, seems the second inaugural of Grover Cleveland! It was a Franklinesque plea for thrift in public administration, for not taking from the people a penny more than was needed. But that fashion of sympathizing with the daily struggle of the citizen who is a child of poverty, or a man of moderate means, seems now quite obsolete. The newer way is to create immense funds at the disposal of the Government, and then ladle them out right and left with fine disregard of the expense.

Facts About Coal

THE disquieting evidence of a coal shortage in the Middle and Eastern States is daily more plain. Every newspaper reader has before him the account of how Gov. Cox has, after a month's suffering in Ohio, summarily taken control of thousands of coal cars within reach, how industrial concerns and a great shipyard have closed in Baltimore, how there has been rioting in Brooklyn. Chicago and Kansas City report that the cold snap is fast clearing out their stocks. In Michigan, as in Ohio, coal has been parcelled out a ton at a time, and Detroit stated December 1 that "the situation is serious for both domestic and steam coal users." In Philadelphia there was no free coal December 1, and the shortage threatens to cause suffering at any time, while New England's industrial interests fear an imminent curtailing of activity. Every one knows what the basic cause is—the immensely increased consumption, estimated at 100,000,000 tons more this year than last. The latest commerce reports show that we are exporting little more coal than in 1916; in the first eight months of this year we had sent out 17,375,000 tons as against 15,600,000 in the same period last year. The increase of less than 2,000,000 tons, most of which went to Canada and Cuba, is a trifle. But our greatly expanded home consumption has been long foreseen.

Both the mine operators and the railways will face a considerable responsibility for the failure to produce and move about 690,000,000 tons of anthracite and bituminous coal this year, as against 590,000,000 tons last year. This was a tremendous demand to make, especially when we consider that last year's production was itself nearly 60,000,000 tons in advance of any previous year. But by straining every nerve, they might have come nearer meeting the demand. The anthracite mines have done all that was required of them. Their share would have been a 17 per cent. expansion over last year; in April and May they had reached a 24 per cent. expansion, and they have kept their mark higher than any one expected. The bituminous operators have shown at times a painful want of diplomacy in dealing with labor, and strikes in late autumn particularly cut their production. The output to October 31 was 454,326,000 tons, which is about 40,000,000 tons more than the production last year in the same period; that is, about 10 per cent. more. For a time in October the rate of increase over 1916 was much slowed down, but lately it has risen. Mr. Garfield made a strenuous effort in October to speed up the mines. "Conditions in ordinary times," he stated, "account for the fact that the average number of days' work in the year has been from 200 to 230 only. They also account for the fact that the average hours of labor per day have fallen considerably below the eight hours stipulated in wage agreements." The agreement concluded in the Central district provides for at least forty hours weekly, guaranteed by a system of forfeitures. The November showing will be good, production for the first fortnight reaching 22,650,000 tons. But even this is only 77.8 per cent. of full-time capacity. The year will probably close with a total coal production of little over 50,000,000 tons more than in 1916.

But operators strongly and justly protest that the shortage is, in its present aspects, due largely to difficulties of transportation. The Geological Survey computes that for the week ending November 3 the deficiency below full-time output was about 3,925,000 tons, of which about 1,720,000 tons was due to shortage of cars. That week was one of lower production than those following, and the shortage of cars has been more acutely felt as the coal piled up. Early in November Illinois and Indiana reported a loss in coal output of from 6.6 per cent. to 15 per cent., owing to the shortage of cars and locomotives. At the same time there was a "material increase" in the losses traceable to it in the Pittsburgh and Freeport districts in the East; there was little improvement in a rather bad situation in the Pocahontas, Fairmont, and West Virginia fields, and in the Cumberland and Piedmont fields there was a loss of nearly 15 per cent. The *Coal Mining Review* asserts that "when the transportation problem is solved there will be no fuel problem with which the Fuel Administration will have to wrestle. There will be no work for the hundreds of men employed by the Government to plan increased production of coal, and there will be no prospective fuel famine to prevent." The *Coal Age* notes a slight labor shortage, but states that "the production of bituminous coal appears to be more dependent upon car supply." The recent meeting of Michigan, West Virginia, and Ohio Fuel Administrators with railway men and operators resolved that it is "apparent that the shortage of motive power and congestion of terminal facilities on practically all railways are the two factors responsible."

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The Government has ordered that no open-top cars shall be used except for the transportation of coal, ore, food, or fertilizers, and more recently has tried to obtain priority for all shipments of coal.

All the remedies within the reach of goaded operators, overburdened railways, and a Government doing what it can with priority orders and pooling arrangements at terminals will not prevent the necessity of sharp economy. On the estimate that our navy and factories require a hundred million tons more than before, and will get little over half that, Mr. Garfield issues the warning that unless we save fifty million tons the Government will see non-essential industries shut down in order to provide for essential uses. Every householder, factory manager, and engine fireman must do his part to make this enormous saving possible. At the recent convention in New York of mechanical engineers it was asserted that much more than this could be conserved by proper methods.

A Classic Battle-Ground

PALESTINE is the Belgium of the East and of the ancient and mediæval world. In the annals of warfare, from the very dawn of history, there are only two other regions that can compare with the Holy Land as a theatre for the clash of peoples and conquerors. These are the Lowlands of the Rhine and the plains of northern Italy. Of the two, the former approaches the Palestinian record in the thick-strewn names of great battles; the latter can show a fair approach in the names of great commanders. Of the giants of military history Palestine can lay claim to all but two—Hannibal and Cæsar; perhaps we should include Genghis Khan. The others—Rameses, Alexander the Great, Pompey, Abu Bekr and Omar, Tamurlaine and Napoleon—all fought over the ground which makes its authentic appearance when the Amarna Letters, fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, speak of the disturbances of the Habiru tribes, which may or may not be the Hebrew tribes, and whose name scholars have translated, with a modernity that is almost startling, as "the Allies." The parallel with Flanders runs much closer than with northern Italy, in that Palestine was less an object of desire in itself for invading armies, like Italy, than a bridge between contending empires. What the Lowlands have been in the strife among the Germans, British, and French, at different times, Palestine has been in the uneasy balance between the great monarchies of the Nile on the one hand and those of the Euphrates and Tigris on the other. To continue the parallel we need only think of the Palestinian coastland on the Mediterranean, the sea, *par excellence*, of ancient civilization, and the Belgian coastland on the North Sea, the centre of modern naval power.

How far will Gen. Allenby's forces move northward from Jerusalem and Jaffa before they confront the Teuto-Turco challenge for the control of northern Palestine and Syria? We may get a hint, perhaps, from the way earlier campaigns have swept across the Palestinian land-bridge. The great highway of invasion from and against Egypt during the last thirty-five hundred years has been the ancient caravan route along the coast through the cities of ancient Philistia. Coming from the south, the armies have advanced by way of El Arish, Gaza, Jaffa, towards Acre and Tyre, and so on to Damascus. The armies from the north have marched in the reverse order, except when a conqueror from the Mediterranean, like Alexander, came all the way along the coast from the Cilician Gates near the great bend of the inland sea. The test of battle has usually taken place around Gaza, if it was Egypt that stood on the defensive, or one hundred miles further north, if the attack was from that direction. There, between the heights of Gilboa and Tabor, near the shores of Galilee, and Mount Carmel, near the Mediterranean, lies the plain of Esdraelon or Jezreel, which is the Ramillies, Fleurus, and Waterloo, the Po quadrilateral, of the ancient world. Esdraelon, Jezreel, Megiddo, Armageddon, are the synonyms for a battle-ground which witnessed the victories of Thothmes over the Hittites, of Gideon over the Midianites, of the Philistines over Saul and his sons, of a second Pharaoh over Josiah, King of Judah, and of Kleber over the Turks.

From Jerusalem or Jaffa to the Plain of Esdraelon is a distance of fifty miles. The plain is now traversed from west to east by the railway from Haifa, on the Mediterranean, to the Sea of Galilee, and Damascus. Along that line we may expect the Turks to make their stand. For the British advance there is no direct main road from Jerusalem. The bulk of Gen. Allenby's forces will no doubt follow the ancient route close to the coast, now represented by the railway from Ludd, fifteen miles inland from Jaffa, running north along the edge of the Plain of Sharon and through Nablus, the ancient Shechem, to Jezreel. East of the Jordan runs the parallel line of the Mecca-Damascus Railroad. It offers excellent opportunities for a flanking movement against a Turkish army between Haifa and Galilee, but it is a question whether Gen. Allenby has the resources for so elaborate an operation. But if the men are available, it is not only the railway that may count. Despite the mobility of steam and petroleum, modern armies are here at a disadvantage, as against the hordes which the Pharaohs led north in entire disregard of the problems of water and supplies, or the armies which poured out from Babylonia across hundreds of miles of desert. It is significant that the victory which ultimately gave Jerusalem to the British was won largely by primitive methods. It was a cavalry dash around the Turkish flank which won Beersheba and forced the retirement from Gaza. Dramatic possibilities await us in a British advance northward, in double column, along the coast towards Haifa and Beirut, and east of the Jordan towards Damascus.

There is one resource at the disposal of Gen. Allenby which his predecessors, back to the time of Thothmes, did not possess, and that is naval power. With the establishment of a base at Jaffa, the difficult problem of transport across the Sinai desert, even with a railway behind the British, should be greatly ameliorated. But more than that, it is not impossible that British cruisers and gunboats may be employed to parallel the land advance. Hitherto the lesson of the war has been that warships are not effective against fortifications where these are resolutely defended, which was emphatically not the case in recent German operations in the Gulf of Riga. But on the other hand, it is to be shown whether the Turkish fortifications at the Mediterranean ports measure up to the European standard. A successful naval demonstration against Haifa would threaten seriously the right flank of the Turkish forces in the Plain of Esdraelon, just as a powerful cavalry movement east of the Jordan would menace the left flank. With a British success on that line, the way would be open to Beirut and Damascus, with serious implications for the entire campaign in Asia Minor and the ultimate fate of Berlin-Bagdad.

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The Scandinavian Situation

By HENRY GODDARD LEACH

THE nations are calling to us for food, and we must give each of them a hearing. There is strong temptation to provide only for those who are fighting with us as allies. The Scandinavian peoples will bake their bread of birch bark rather than beg, yet we can least afford to see them crippled by starvation. Denmark and Norway, at least, we all recognize as our intellectual allies in this war for democracy. Sweden is more puzzling to us and requires explanation. We hear that three-fourths of the Swedish people are in sympathy with the Allies, while the remainder, the powerful minority of military and aristocracy, are still pro-German. Now that the Russian revolution has changed the face of history and Prussianism has shown its sinister menace, we should expect this latter sentiment to be completely obliterated. The real answer is to be found in the internal political life of the Swedish people. The Swedes, in their character and political nature, are very like the Anglo-Saxon peoples. They move steadily in a progressive direction, but they carefully scrutinize each step, and contest it with a bitterness at the polls that testifies to an ancient and highly organized political intelligence. As in England and the United States, there is a strong conservative element who are ardent students of history and ancestry, and who proclaim a patriotism grounded upon perpetuation of institutions that have made their nation glorious in the past. The divided sympathy of the Swedish household in the present war usually runs parallel with the party alignment. The political issue is a fight between Prussian autocratic and French and English parliamentary ideas. The Conservative's ideal is the German feudal government, with its strong centralized power, a royal ruler, and a permanent or non-partisan staff of office-holders, tending, from their point of view, to expert efficiency; whereas the Liberals strive after the English system, with its representative Parliament and responsible Cabinet. The recent elections which overthrew the Conservatives, after three years of power, was due more to this internal struggle than to the accident of the Luxburg disclosure.

In America we are slow to realize the significance of the sweeping political overturn which put into power a Liberal-Socialist Cabinet with Branting at the helm of finance. Socialists are represented for the first time in the Government. Among the reforms desired by the people's majority is a democratizing of the obstructionary upper chamber, suffrage for women, and—what interests us especially at this time—parliamentary control of foreign policy, through a standing committee of the Riksdag. Conditions like those which permitted the Argentine dispatches have been made possible in the past because a bureaucratic system has enabled clerks and under-officials, continuing from one Administration to another, to conduct affairs in their own way, without proper supervision by the Administration. Thus, curiously enough, the responsibility for the relaying of German messages has been laid at the door of former Foreign Minister Wallenberg, than whom there is no better friend of England in Sweden. Branting, the chief power in the new Cabinet, is an intellectual as well as a practical Socialist, a man born to position and wealth, who began his career as an astronomer and has devoted his energies and his fortune to hasten the processes of democracy in his country, a man of poise and strength, who commands the respect of his political opponents, both at home and abroad.

The immediate economic problem before the new Swedish Government is how to feed a hungry people and how to lubricate with oil the wheels of industry. By recent accounts, the German bread ration was sixty-nine ounces per individual per week, while the Swedish bread ration was only fifty ounces. The Swedes have been on ration cards for a year, more or less, for bread, sugar, milk, butter, and practically all the necessities of life. Even more than food they miss their lamplight and coffee, the psychological commodities upon which the Northern peoples depend to keep up their spirits in the long winters. A recent visitor to Stockholm tells how a shop happened to get a small supply of coffee which it was permitted to dole out in rations of one-fifth of a pound. A line quickly formed, four blocks long, but most of the would-be purchasers had to go home empty-handed. Housewives' necessities, such as needles and thread, are now at a prohibitive premium. There are no rubber tires or gasolene for automobiles. The railways have increased their fares and decreased their speed each by 50 per cent. One wonders what the school-children in the country districts far in the North are going to do in midwinter with no artificial light and only two hours of daylight at their disposal. There seems to be no alternative but to stay in bed.

Norway is somewhat better provided economically than Sweden, although here the conditions are sufficiently alarming. Apparently Norway has larger reserve stores, and her potato crop has proved unusually abundant. As with us, public plots, including the park surrounding the summer palace of the King and Queen at Bygdö, were pressed into service for raising potatoes. Beginning November 1, the Government introduced the bread-rationing system so long in use in Sweden. Naturally, the sea off Norway is full of fish, but they do not land themselves; to catch them requires fuel oil, coal, and tackle, and some apparatus for which Norway is now dependent upon Germany. English coal, if obtainable, costs ninety dollars a ton in Christiania. Added to the pinch of supplies are the daily ravages upon the Norwegian merchant marine by the German U-boats. One-third of the tonnage of Norway has been sunk, and hundreds of sailors have lost their lives—more men than the United States has lost altogether since we entered the war. Yet the Norwegian sailor fearlessly continues to perform his duty of supplying England with fish and of keeping all the seas of the world open to commerce.

Denmark, the third Scandinavian Power, had experienced, before the war, a rapid economic development. Beginning with 1882, when the first coöperative dairy was established, Denmark built up a flourishing export to England, consisting of butter, bacon, and eggs. In 1908 the average annual butter production of the Danish cow was 224 pounds, being actually twice the average maintained in 1884. This economic growth was facilitated by a remarkable social adjustment, including the coöperative societies and workingmen's insurance clubs, emanating from the people, and not, as in Germany, from the Government. The first three years of war brought a violent readjustment of imports, for the grain

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supply from Russia and Rumania was cut off, while England and Germany could offer little but coal. Obviously, the United States became the chief market. In 1913 Denmark imported from Germany, England, France, Russia, Rumania, and other European countries grain and fodder to the value of 135,000,000 kroner, while in that year her total imports from the United States were valued at only 87,000,000 kroner. Thus her imports from the United States in 1916, valued at 205,000,000 kroner, without taking into account the rise in prices, indicate not an increase but a shrinkage in her total imports. Early in the war the merchants of Denmark were obliged to give pledges that no commodities imported from the West would be reëxported. Violation of these agreements was made a criminal offence by Government statute. Germany proceeded, however, to strip Denmark of her native products. War merchants became rich, just as in the United States and other neutral countries, and a new member of society was created, called the "Goulash Baron," who purchased liberally of art and automobiles. The banks swelled with gold, but the workman grew anxious about his dinner pail. When America entered the war, the embargo put a stop to the flow of food and fodder, and the Danish people found privation at their doors. Although the Danes are rather more careful economists than their brother nations, and more nearly self-supporting, they have now been obliged, for want of fodder, to slaughter their cows, the pride of their co-operative industry, and to see their horses fall dead in the streets. As early as October 7, we read in the financial newspaper *Börsen* that "the increasing scarcity of fodder is being felt all over the country, and the pinch is most severe in the cities, particularly in the capital. It is the horses that suffer most cruelly—a condition of things that is all the more lamentable as we are forced in this time of failing motor power to draw very heavily upon the working capacity of our animals." Electric plants have been forced to shut down for lack of copper, and machinery has stopped running for lack of lubricating oil. Restaurants are closed at 10 P. M. to save light. Our Commercial Attaché, Erwin W. Thompson, reported to this Government under date of October 13: "Kerosene for lamps is now rationed to people who have no other lights at the rate of half a gallon per month, and at a price regulated by the Government at 72 cents per gallon."

The question of vital interest to-day concerning the Scandinavian countries is, will they enter the war? In this respect they must be treated as a unit, for what one suffers all suffer. The Norwegian people have been stung to the limit of human endurance by Germany, and yet they have refused to desert their brothers in maintaining the united neutrality of the North. At present the Scandinavian countries would be a liability to us in war. They lie unprotected, within range of the guns of the Central Powers, who, striking out overnight, could annihilate them one by one before help could arrive. Sweden, with her sturdy army, might hold Stockholm for two weeks, but her seaports would fall before sunset. Denmark, as the apex of the Scandinavian triangle, occupies the most exposed position. From the church steeples of Copenhagen the Danes can see the gray destroyers of the German navy, and within four hours the Prussian warships can be in position to bombard the capital. The Western Powers would find it no easier to help Denmark than they did when Jutland was overrun by Prussia and Austria in 1864. Anticipating the present war, Denmark was resolutely preparing during the decade before 1914 to hold Copenhagen for at least a few days. To her relief the German army used Belgium as an outlet instead. Happily, the common cause of neutrality has brought the Northern nations closer together than ever before, and the conference of the three Kings at Christiania in 1917 has reaffirmed the meeting at Malmö in 1914. Particularly gratifying at this time is the friendship of Norway and Sweden, stronger now than in the days of their union. During the past months Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian Special Minister to the United States, has repeatedly expressed his desire that Sweden and Norway may obtain equally favorable consideration in the negotiations now pending at Washington. If the concord of the three Northern neutrals in politics can also be expressed in terms of economic agreement, they have indeed a strategic future as the gateway between the nations of the West and Russia.

For six months Commissioners of the Scandinavian Powers have been in Washington seeking to ameliorate the embargo. The postponement of a decision on the part of our Government has been due in the first place to the universal scope of the food problem, of which Scandinavia is but one factor. Again, the exact requirements of the neutrals had to be carefully studied; and in the third place, we wish naturally to make agreements that are least likely to benefit Germany. The Northern peoples were quite ready to offer us the binding guarantees not to reëxport that they had already made with England. Further, they acquiesced in the principle of importing nothing that would release commodities of like kind to Germany. Thus the Danes have ceased to ask us for fodder for their cattle and are killing them off systematically by the thousands and storing what they can in the great beer vats now idle. Finally, in some quarters the hope has been expressed that they might stop sending even their own surplus products to Germany. In large measure such export has now ceased automatically, with the complete exhaustion of their supplies. The Scandinavians feel, however, that a breach of their normal trade relations with Germany would be a cause for war. Thus Norway is obliged to send a meagre 15 per cent. of her export of fish to Germany, as against 85 per cent. to England. Sweden is bound by long-term contracts made before the war to supply Germany with iron ore, the export of which, contrary to general belief, actually decreased from 4,977,000 tons in 1913 to 4,299,000 in 1916. The Swedes believe that this iron is not essential to Germany, as that nation has not taken out as much as she is entitled to by contract, and furthermore, they receive in return coal, a vital necessity for their existence.

It is becoming evident that our midsummer policy, if prosecuted indefinitely, would drive the Scandinavians against their will into the economic arms of Germany. The Germans have already sent them, at heavy cost, some Rumanian wheat and oil, and a dispatch of December 9 from Stockholm records an agreement with Austria-Hungary by which Sweden is to receive some lubricating oils. The Scandinavian Commissioners in Washington, however, understand the difficulty of our problem of supplying the world, and are patiently awaiting, in the spirit of warm friendship, agreements which will enable them to send to their anxious countrymen, not wheat, perhaps, but rye and such raw commodities for manufacture as we can spare to keep the industrious workingmen of Scandinavia from unemployment or from service as slaves for a German master.

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The Railways and Government Intervention

By THOMAS F. WOODLOCK

IT is most important that certain facts should be understood in connection with the approaching governmental intervention in the railway industry, for failure to understand them and to act in accordance with them may bring the most serious consequences. We are standing now at the very fork in the road; one way leads to Government ownership, the other is the road which both experience and common sense—I venture to think—tell us is the safe one; the next steps that we take must be upon one or the other of these roads.

The first fact to note is that the reason why Government is about to intervene in the industry of transportation is *not* the inefficiency of those men who have heretofore managed the railways. The reason is that in no other way is it possible quickly to cut through the tangled web of law, State and Federal, which has hampered and does now hamper railway managers from accomplishing by their own efforts the utmost efficiency in operation of the railway system as a whole. It has taken the emergency of war to demonstrate the essential unsoundness of the theory, so long dear to the official mind, that railways are naturally "competitive" with each other in the common acceptation of the word. Now, when the thirty-eight systems in the Eastern District are congested with freight so that it is reckoned that nearly 10 per cent. of the freight cars in the United States are standing, loaded, in terminals at the Atlantic seaboard or on side tracks within a radius of 300 miles of New York, and when the entire country is clamoring for the coal which this district normally furnishes to both East and West, it at last appears to the official mind that what is wanted is "unification" of the railways and not "competition." And as this "unification" would not be normally possible without many changes in the law the only short cut to it is by a "seizure" of the railways by Government as a war measure. And so, such "seizure" is apparently about to be made.

By this means it will be possible to handle the entire system of railways, South, West, and East, as one railway without regard to State or Federal laws. Motive power, cars, terminals, tracks, can be "pooled" as circumstances may require, thus permitting a complete mobilization of resources and the quickest and most economical handling of the traffic. This and this only is the reason for Government "control"—to free the railways and their managers from the restrictions established by Government itself in the past. No one in his senses supposes that a Government official can "operate" the railways better than can their own managers; all that he can do is to clothe them with the powers of Government and free them for the work that they better than any one else can do.

The second fact to note is that the railway industry is itself in a serious crisis which the war has, indeed, rendered more acute, but which is, in a sense, independent of the war and in the light of which the impending Government "control" becomes doubly dangerous because doubly important. This crisis is most severe in the case of the railways in the Eastern district, but it is now beginning to be observable in the other two districts as well. Owing to rising costs of operation—in some measure the result of governmental action in the case of wages—the margin of profit is rapidly shrinking. As every one knows, it has not thus far been possible to secure from the regulating authority an increase in rates large enough to maintain the margin of profit on such a basis as is reasonably satisfactory to owners. In all the great industries of a competitive character, in which the Government has felt obliged to intervene in a price-fixing capacity, it has established prices for product on a liberal basis, taking care to encourage the largest possible production. It has failed thus far to put this policy into effect in the case of the railways. The greatest industry of all the industries—the industry upon which all the other industries depend—has been partially starved by the extreme reluctance of Government agencies to place the burden of increased transportation costs upon the shoulders that should bear it—those of the traveller and shipper.

The third important fact to note is that Government "control" of the railways and operation of those railways under such "control" will involve the assumption by Government of responsibility for compensation of the owners of the property thus commandeered. It is commonly understood that this responsibility will be discharged by guarantee to the companies of a minimum amount of earnings during the period of Government control. It is evident that, as between the companies themselves, there will have to be a "pooling" of earnings actually received, as the change resulting in routing of traffic under a pooling of tracks, terminals, etc., might otherwise result in violent changes of a financial kind in the case of individual railways. This, however, is a relatively easy matter to arrange, as between companies. The essential point is the treatment by Government of the problem of guarantee. There are two ways in which it can be done—the "easy" way and the right way.

The "easy" way is to leave the present rate structures as they are, to guarantee to the railway companies a minimum net revenue for interest, dividends, and surplus, on the basis of an ante-bellum year or series of years, and to take up the final deficit—for a deficit there will surely be—in the general expenses of Government to be met from taxation or at least from Government revenues. Railway labor will want more money—it can be satisfied at a cost to be buried under a mountain of "war expenses"; so can increased coal bills and bills for supplies; the travelling public and the shipping public will then be relieved from the necessity of direct payment for the full cost of the service that they receive and a portion of this payment will be borne by the general public. And at the end of the war the Government can hand back to the companies their property with an expense account wholly out of relation to the income account, and, in all probability, with such a quantity of "deferred maintenance" existing in track and equipment as to constitute a serious impairment of capital. Lest it be thought that this is a wholly imaginary picture, it should be said that such in the opinion of the most competent observers is likely to be the result in the case of the English railways under the system of operation in effect since the beginning of the war. (It is also the opinion of those who are well qualified to judge that in England Government ownership and operation of the railways is likely to follow the conclusion of peace.) We are not likely to fare differently under such a plan.

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The right way is indicated clearly enough by the plain facts of the case, but it requires both courage and statesmanship on the part of the Government. The first thing to do is to recognize the fact that the railway industry should, like all the other industries, be made self-supporting in war time. Those who use transportation should pay a fair price for what they use. There is no reason in justice why they should expect any one else to pay for them. The rate structures should be adjusted to the new conditions. Increased wages to labor, increased prices for coal and supplies (and increased return if necessary to capital to compensate for the higher level of interest rates) should come out of the rates and not out of the Federal Treasury. Under Government "control" the opportunity to make such adjustment of rate structures is greater by far than in peace-time conditions under Government "regulation"; it is an opportunity that should be grasped. Besides this, the physical condition of the properties should be maintained properly, subject to the possibility of securing labor, material, and opportunity for repair and renewal work, and where the work cannot actually be done there should be allowance for a depreciation fund to be charged to operating costs. Railway accounts are now uniformly kept and are susceptible of constant scrutiny by Government agencies. There is no difficulty in ascertaining facts. Government service performed by railways should be charged for, like all other services, and duly taken up in the accounts. Under such a system it would be possible when the war ends to return railway property to its owners with the income account in proper balance and with track and equipment properly maintained. Then if it becomes necessary to make a readjustment in wages and rates, it can be done in a reasonably just manner, suiting the one to the other, instead of it being necessary at once to rectify a huge discrepancy between income and expenditure.

Government ownership and operation of American railways would be probably as great an economic calamity as could possibly occur short of complete Socialism. The cardinal fault of governmental regulation (the only alternative policy to that of ownership and operation) has hitherto been its failure to keep the railway industry thoroughly self-supporting. It has seemingly sought in all directions for means to avoid increasing rates. This was made most apparent in the rate cases of 1913-1914, resulting in a frank confession by the Commission that revenues of railways were insufficient and a series of far-fetched suggestions for their increase other than by higher rates. Confronted now with a situation far more acute than that of 1913-1914, the Commission has virtually urged Government "control"—for no one supposes that "unification" can be had in any other way. It would be no doubt unfair to charge the Commission with being governed in its action by a desire to escape responsibility by passing it to Congress or the President. Yet the effect of its recommendation is to do this very thing. And upon the way in which Government meets this responsibility will depend whether or not we escape Government ownership and operation of railways as a permanent policy.

There is only one way to escape this danger, and that is by treating the railway industry like the other industries in war time—by keeping it on a self-supporting basis and in a thoroughly efficient condition. The present emergency, as I have already said, has, at one and the same time, rendered the crisis in the industry acute and opened the way for its cure. There should be at Washington both courage enough and statesmanship enough to insure the country taking the right and not the "easy" road. One or the other must at once be chosen.

The Battle of the German Books

By FREDERICK TUPPER

To one man is Knowledge a goddess, dwelling on heavenly heights;
To another an excellent cow, providing her portion of butter.
(Schiller.)

ADOLF WILBRANDT, a dramatist very popular in both Berlin and Vienna towards the close of the last century, introduces into one of his comedies a clash between a North German official of noble blood and a young woman of the middle class. "I represent the Germany of Schiller, Goethe, and Lessing," says the woman, and the man replies, "And I represent the Germany of Bismarck, Blücher, and Moltke." The chief significance of this stage quarrel to us just now lies in its frank citation by Prince von Bülow near the end of his "Imperial Germany," to illustrate the yet irreconcilable conflict between "German intellect, which was developed in the West and South," and "the rude and thoroughly prosaic Prussian state of soldiers and officials." No issue could be more clearly drawn. On the one side the German mind; on the other the Prussian monarchy. "There are no longer German philosophers," said Nietzsche in 1889. "German seriousness, profundity, and passion in intellectual matters are more and more on the decline. The state and civilization are antagonistic." The American reader, thus vividly reminded of this cleavage, hears with interest that certain "prominent educators," among whom no one seems to reckon those actively engaged in the work of teaching, have been recently weighing the wisdom of continuing German courses in our schools, and that fervent young patriots in some of our colleges are shunning German electives. Evidently educators and undergraduates must needs become aware that the German literary past is a deadly foe to the German political present; that, on this battle-ground of the later Teutonic centuries, idealism wars against empiricism, liberalism against autocracy, humane ethics against the grosser forms of material progress. "Where are the times," asks von Bülow proudly, "when Schiller saw only the two nations, the Frank and the Briton, struggling for the possession of the world, when he transported the German, who had lingered in the realm of dreams while the earth was divided up, together with the poor poet, into the heaven of idealistic simplicity?" Idealism was slain, it is true, in the struggle with the rationalism of imperial forces and economic interests; but the heart of this dead Douglas still retains the power of stimulating leadership in other lands than its own.

Sensitive reaction to the influences of literary idealism can be estimated only in the terms of individual experience. This is my excuse for telling the story of a student whom I knew very well when all the world was young. A boy of Revolutionary stock and bookish traditions, he was devoting

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his days of graduate study at an American university to the mechanical categories of an empirical science freshly "made in Germany," "floundering," as he would say with characteristic extravagance, "in a shallow stream of finites, half-smothered by the mud of crass concretes." But his nights were ambrosial. Seeking the linguistic tools of his trade, he had found lodgings with an elderly German pastor, the incarnation of an earlier age of the Fatherland's thought, in philosophy a follower of Kant and Hegel, in poetry an enthusiast for Friedrich Schiller, in politics a republican of the middle century. The young man and the old, *Arcades ambo*, became inseparable companions under the reading-lamp, acclaiming, in the fellowship of German pipes, Pilsener, and poetry, the perfect law of freedom. Like other visionaries under Schiller's guidance, they rapturously soared into the realm of the gods, shattering the consecrated stillness of the midnight hours with sonorous chantings of the triumphs of the ideal over dull matter. In the empyrean, into which the youngster was literally translated, archetypes and ideals were as thick as stars, and often as nebulously distant from actual character and circumstance. Patterns and emblems of patriotic devotion, passionate zeal for personal and political liberty, lyrical exaltation of republicanism, high homage to the categorical imperative and to the will to good, met and mingled with the gospel of the *kalokagathia*, and the revelation of beauty as the essence of all truth and virtue. A shrinking from the practical, the accidentality of the naked fact, a hatred of necessity, the arch-enemy of freedom, a veritable loathing for the megalomaniac efficiency that embraces every evil to achieve its selfish purpose, a sovereign contempt for the earthly ends of the great—these mortal antipathies of the two enthusiasts found ample fuel for their flame in the absolutism of Frederick's monarchy, which the man in their poet accepted, but which the genius could not exalt. "The German muse unhonored by the Prussian state!" became the nightly toast of those strangely paired idealists of twenty-five years ago.

Chilled oftentimes by the calm and equipoise of Goethe, these fervent altruists liked the great poet best when he seemed closest in thought to their Schiller. "He only earns his freedom and existence who daily conquers them anew," the boy read excitedly onward through that glorious vision of a free people on free soil in the final act of the Second Part of "Faust." The old German's eyes were shining, as he muttered, "Ach, Hegel, Hegel!" And with this "Open sesame," there swung wide before the eager youngster the gates of a new wonderland, the radiant world of the ardent Hegelians of the Left, those "young Germans" of the thirties and forties who dreamed of a state in which the particular interest of each man is contained and preserved, perhaps a constitutional monarchy on the broadest democratic basis, perhaps a republic. Then came with a rush the pastor's own reminiscences of the "Burschenschaft," that liberty-loving band of university students with their tricolor of black, red, and gold, and of the sunny hours of "the people's springtime" in 1848, too soon darkened by the inevitable shadows of the Hohenzollerns and their fatal obsession of divine right. This glowing personal talk was followed by copious recital of thrilling patriotic lyrics of Büchner and of Herwegh and chiefly of Freiligrath, that sterling patron of democracy reaching hands across the sea to our own republic. The old radical became the young Bursch of forty years before, as he chanted to the tune of the "Marseillaise" that tremendous song of revolt, "Vor der Fahrt," in which the stanch vessel Revolution fares bravely forth towards America, defying storm and lightning and shattering all foes of liberty. The emotional German voice faltered, as it told of a far less triumphant voyage. Beaten in the battle against the overwhelming forces of autocracy, the disillusioned dreamer and many other liberals of his sort found in America their only refuge. "And so here I am, far from home, old, worn out, sick with contrarieties," concluded the expatriate with a sweeping Teutonic gesture, "but grant me the petition of Heinrich Heine, who was an exile too: 'A sword ye shall place upon my tomb, for I was a faithful soldier in the wars of liberation of humanity.'"

The boy, who has been very near me of late, seems more than ever in love with the phantasies of his youth. With prodigious zest he marshals all his favorite German classics in order to reveal the manifold ironies suggested by the century-old war between literary ideals and political practice. William Tell and his fellows, standing firm against the subjugation and absorption of their small nation by an alien oppressor, and defending from the accursed tyranny of the Emperor's representative their land, their lives, and the honor of their women, can no longer be persistently acclaimed, even by the myopic Prussian, effective symbols of German love of freedom, when many a line in that most human of dramas can be narrated, with change of name, concerning Belgium. The heart-cry of a suffering people against an intolerable brutality which is but part of a deliberate policy of frightfulness, the outburst of an agonized wonder that the creature of an irresponsible foreign lord can daily defy all laws human and divine in his abuse of the innocent, echoes from the plains of Flanders all the wailings of early victims of the Empire. Despite Bismarck's characteristic protest, Tell's unheroic sniping that removes the tool of imperial oppression gains now a new palliation. Eager rhetorical questions follow thick and fast. Is there no place in the present Prussian scheme of things for the Marquis Posa of "Don Carlos," shocked by the régime of persecution and bloodshed in the Low Countries, and unfolding in the ears of the grim autocrat his liberal ideas of government? Does the struggle of a small Flemish population against the most powerful monarch of the century make a less poignant appeal to us than to those German readers for whom Schiller wrote his "Defection of the Netherlands"? Does this unhappy folk merit any less today the tribute put by Goethe into the mouth of Count Egmont: "I know my fellow-countrymen. They are men worthy to walk on God's earth, each one in himself a little king, firm, active, capable, faithful, devoted to old customs. It is hard to gain their confidence, easy to retain it. Obstinate and inflexible, they can be oppressed, but not suppressed"?

Brimful of memories of the youthful readings of Schiller, my impetuous friend relentlessly urges onward his hobby-horse of literary analogy. Has not the spirit of Joan of Arc, "die Jungfrau," whom an older Germany praised, walked of late along the borders of Lorraine, on the banks of the Marne, and in the great church at Rheims? Has Wallenstein, the man of destiny, striding forward in the blindness of overweening self-conceit, and sacrificing to his monstrous ambition all that men call honor, no counterpart in modern Berlin? Is there nowhere in Prussia a revolutionist ready to cry with Karl Moor of "The Robbers,"

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"Place me at the head of an army of fellows like myself, and Germany shall become a republic in comparison with which Rome and Sparta were nunneries"? This may be mere raving, but it has for us the right ring. Our special pleader adds vehemently that even such a panegyrist of Frederick and his system of militarism as Lessing can be cited as implicit testimony against the more abominable machine of to-day. You remember that splendid soldier, self-sacrificing Major Tellheim, whose generosity and gentleness in the administration of a conquered district win the admiration and love of Minna von Barnhelm. How many French and Belgian ladies have been thus captivated by the kindliness of officers of William?

The rhapsodist sweeps on in "a manner which is my aversion," but with a deal of good sense and sound feeling in his matter. The ideal commonwealth of great German thinkers, dear to many of us, has sunk, like some Atlantis, far below the Prussian horizon. The liberal Hegelian philosophy, as my dear old parson interpreted it, conceived of the state as a world wrought by the spirit, resting not upon force, but upon a deeply rooted feeling of order which all men possess. All that idealism is superseded by the brutal naturalism which was beginning to vex us a generation or two ago. The old idealists, both philosophers and poets, pleaded for the right of reason against the right of the sword (you recall those wonderful lines of Klopstock), and battled for an empire of the mind, an embodiment of the Eternal. Hating blood and iron, they opposed all policies of national violence and wars of aggression. The will to good of the Kantian Kingdom of Ends now yields to the will to power. Kant's oft-cited essay, "On Perpetual Peace" (1795), which suggests a world-federation of free states, owning allegiance to a common law and thus maintaining universal concord, has for both America and Germany tremendous historical significance in its anticipation of President Wilson's magnificent ideal in the war message of April 2, "The universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

Modern Prussia, which sees the past only through the vistas of the *Siegesallee*, may tickle imperial vanity with paintings and poetizings of the *Kyffhäuser* legend of the returning Barbarossa, despite Heine's derisive mocking at that bit of romance, and with much symbolic ado over the awakening of the national *Dornröschen*, now, alas, more thorn than rose! But every utterance of the idealistic earlier self of the German nation, poor in resources but rich in spirit, may be used to scourge her latter-day fatness of body and leanness of soul. The songs of independence which she sang during the Wars of Liberation, when valiantly struggling under the galling yoke of Napoleonic oppression, were cries of patriotic protest against the defaming of her speech, the destruction of her temples, and the dishonoring of her people. Reset these lyrics now in Flemish, Alsatian, and Polish versions. A hundred years ago she invoked in verse the God of Battles to avenge her pain and slights at the hands of the strong. One hears to-day the same pleadings on the lips of her weaker neighbors. She once pictured the Hall of Kings as "the abode of arrogance, the place of sufferings, and the gilded hell of liars." What are men now saying of the seats of the mighty at Potsdam and Schönbrunn? Call to the stand the old Goethe. If "the cultured German soldier," who carries, as Gerhart Hauptmann tells us, the "Faust" in his knapsack with Homer, the Bible, and Nietzsche's "Zarathustra," reads as far as the fourth act of the Second Part, he will be edified to learn that the "Emperor," victorious in war through jugglery, thinks first to strengthen the feudal foundations of his house and court and then of rewarding his faithful Junkers, the Chancellor, the Chamberlain, the Steward, the Cup-bearer, with levies, tax and rent, pass-money, fees, and the royalties of mines and salt and coins. Have these Teutons quite forgotten their own stirring choruses of democracy? Herwegh's "Song of Hate" is levelled at no national rival, but the tyranny of German rulers. Freiligrath exalts the names of Kosciusko, Washington, Lafayette, and Franklin, and extols the sovereign power of the people. Ludwig hails freedom as the springtime of nations. The tragic story of Germany's gain and loss can be epitomized in that lofty passage of Edmund Burke's "Address to the King": "What, gracious Sovereign, is the empire of America to us, or the empire of the world, if we lose our own liberty?" "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" With this final blast my idealist goes out of the story.

Now Prof. Rudolf Eucken, or that war-begotten phase of him which wrote "The Universal Historical Significance of the German Mind," comes upon the stage to tell us that the period during which the Germans were a nation of poets and thinkers was a period during which Germany was turning aside from her real road, the way of materialism, and that the Germans were always in fact materialists. Thus present-day Germany, through the mouth of an authoritative spokesman, disowns the best in her heritage. But this very repudiation constitutes the strongest reason why we Americans should not also reject an invaluable legacy to all humanity. Before me is a fifteen-year-old pamphlet, commemorating a New York gathering of former students of German universities to greet Prince Henry of Prussia. It records, among many other literary obligations, the immense influence of German letters upon "George Wadsworth Longfellow," a famous poet of Göttingen training, and upon "James Marsch," a Kantian. Although these Teutonic *nominis umbrae* indicate a characteristically modern detachment from the details of literary history that is entirely consistent with the lavish if somewhat ambiguous praise of the Hohenzollerns "for bringing German ideas to the free," the indebtedness of America to the older idealism must be acknowledged with acclaim. One hears just now some gossip of a concerted movement against German "Kultur" after the war. If this contemplated crusade is designed as a check upon the pseudo-science of much so-called higher scholarship, it is not very needful, as we are already pretty well rid of the stagnant and stultifying element in that alien influence. If, however, the campaign is directed against the menace of the constantly growing German-born empiricism and utilitarianism, not only in our school and college training, but in the conduct of our lives, the many who fear such soulless bondage to mere efficiency will give it hearty "godspeed." But in the defence of our own idealism and liberalism we can ill afford to scorn the alliance of such irreconcilable antagonists of Prussian theory and system as the poetry and philosophy of the German past. The German classics cry out with trumpet tongues against the German cause. More than ever they invite our sympathetic reading and study. "Zarathustra" in the knapsack of the boche could meet no deadlier opposite than "William Tell" in the kit of the American soldier.

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Correspondence

"Borden Versus Laurier"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: On the principle of "hear the other side," may I make two remarks on Mr. O'Hagan's letter?

(1.) He is "quite sure that the great body of the Canadians desire to continue aiding the mother country on the European battle front." Suppose we put with this some words of the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, one of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's lieutenants, spoken the other day:

> We have no interest on the other side of the sea. . . . We have already done enough . . . until America has put 1,500,000 men into the war.

Then, too, *Le Droit*, one of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's organs, said a few days ago that Canadian soldiers have not died for their own country, which has not been in danger, but for England and France. I confidently leave to your readers the comparison of these with Mr. O'Hagan's opinion.

(2.) He also favors a referendum. But he did not say that once before Sir Wilfrid Laurier advocated it, and yet when a vast majority outside Quebec, and a large majority all over Canada (including the Quebec figures), went in favor of it, he refused to apply it, after himself urging it and setting it in motion, because he would not coerce Quebec. Can you wonder that people in Canada remember this when he again proposes the same plan?

There are other points in Mr. O'Hagan's letter which could as easily be shown to be inaccurate, but these two will suffice to indicate the reasons why some of the oldest, strongest, and most devoted Liberals have left Sir Wilfrid at the present juncture. W. H. GRIFFITH-THOMAS

Toronto, Canada, December 8

The Case of Leon Whipple

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In response to your request for a statement of the facts of my dismissal from the University of Virginia, I send you the following record.

On November 20 last I delivered before the Current Events Club of Sweet Briar College an address on "The Meaning of Pacifism." The nature of the address is indicated by the following condensation:

> I am a pacifist because war does not remove the menace of autocracy, make the world safe for democracy, or protect our own democracy, and we should be busy trying new, noble, even visionary, methods of securing peace. I believe to work for peace, most of all during war, is the highest humanity, and so gave money to Morris Hillquit's campaign instead of buying Liberty bonds. We can still make the United States glorious by its stand for peace, although we lost the great opportunity by entering the war. Russia had the courage and vision we failed to reveal, and will be spiritual leader of the next generation, because she has faith. Cries of treason, suppression of free speech and free press, cannot stop the peace labors. Pacifists are conscripted by taxes, and conscience cannot protect them from share in the slaughter. Democracy seems unsafe in America when women are jailed for asking the democratic first right—suffrage. We can win the war only by freeing the spirit of democracy in the Germans by good-will.

My address was not a university extension lecture, but was given by me as an individual for a fee before the Current Events Club of Sweet Briar College—a private institution for women in Virginia. The occasion seemed fitting for one teacher to discuss the principle of peace with teachers and students of another school without the charge of inciting the young ladies against the Government. The secretary of the club wrote me: "We would be delighted to have you give an explanation of pacifism," and my subject was announced on the public bulletin board of the college. The address was received with absolute dissent, but with a kind tolerance of which the women of Sweet Briar must be very proud. The president, Dr. Emilie McVea, heard the talk, and later told the press that "his utterances were those of an extreme pacifist. None of his expressions would lead one to suppose that he sympathized with the Germans."

I sent advance copies of the address to six daily papers, with letters asking publication of the views because they should be widely known. I added the news facts that I was director of the School of Journalism of the University of Virginia, and had served the People's Council. I knew I could not dissociate myself from my official position, and any effort to do so would have seemed cowardly and insincere. I did state to the Sweet Briar audience that I represented no institution or organization, disconnecting myself for them from the University and any propaganda. For my own sake, I should have included such a statement in the press report, though it would have had no effect on the test of the principle of free speech, about which I was most concerned.

Immediately President Alderman repudiated my utterances both personally and officially; fifty-five members of the faculty signed an unofficial petition to the president condemning my disloyal teaching; the Visitors and the president were overwhelmed with demands for my instant dismissal, such demands coming from the press, the public, individual alumni, alumni organizations, and public men. These demands were met with academic dignity by the faculties and the president, who refused to suspend me; so that I was insured all personal protection and courtesy by the University. The general faculty, after hearing a statement of fact from me, passed a resolution condemning and repudiating my views, and declaring that I had "abused and distorted" the right of free speech. The faculty did not suggest my removal, but it was very clear that their idea of the rights of free speech was very different from mine.

At a meeting of the Board of Visitors, on November 27, President Alderman laid the facts before the Board, together with the following comments and recommendation:

> In the performance of his normal duties as a teacher here, Professor Whipple has exhibited energy, capacity, and attention to duty, and in many external ways has been a very useful member of the faculty. As a student and teacher, I have always had for him feelings of kindliness and good will. The sacred right of freedom of speech so closely bound up with our University spirit has been freely accorded to Professor Whipple, as to all members of the teaching staff, but manifestly there is a limit, in law and reason, to this right, and Professor Whipple has plainly abused and distorted that right. In my judgment and in the judgment of all his colleagues the address of Professor Whipple herein submitted, however sincerely held or sincerely uttered, constitutes in its totality and in its specific utterances a document of disloyalty, a counsel of national dishonor, a frank incitement to inactivity in the presence of aggression, a condemnation of the Government and of national leadership, a plea for the impairment of the nation's spirit and energy in the face of grave internal peril and foreign war, a disparagement of

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those who are willing to die to win a peace based on freedom rather than to accept, without struggle, a peace based on servitude.

Holding this judgment of Professor Whipple's utterances, and knowing that he not only believes what he says, but feels in duty bound to propagate his theories everywhere within his power outside of his classroom, I reach the conclusion, with deep personal regret, that Professor Whipple cannot longer discharge the duties of a professor in this University, which is committed to the necessity and righteousness of this war and is proudly sending its sons, graduate and undergraduate, to the battle line. It is, therefore, incumbent upon me to recommend to the rector and visitors that they declare the appointment of Leon R. Whipple as adjunct professor of journalism to be rescinded, and the chair of journalism to be vacant from this date.

(Signed) EDWIN A. ALDERMAN, President.

I received the opportunity to defend myself, and read before the Board of Visitors a formal statement upholding freedom of speech and conscience and declaring:

I deny that, in speaking the truth so far as it can be revealed to one human being's mind and heart, I injure the real and noble ideals of this nation, dim the glory of this university, or am less fitted to teach its students. I deny that I have endangered the true greatness or safety of this nation, for its single greatness and its single safety is the right of truth to prevail. I deny that I have harmed an institution founded by a great lover of human liberty, Thomas Jefferson, in order that the democracy of this State might seek and learn the truth wherever it might lead.

The six members of the Visitors present voted unanimously to declare my chair vacant forthwith.

Freed of verbiage and confusion, the issue was simple: Can teachers in our universities, of admitted sincerity, effectiveness, and good social intent, state publicly any difference of views on the present war from those held by their colleagues, the university governors, or the public, without paying the price of their position and all opportunity for usefulness therein? It is plain that the teacher cannot dissociate himself and his views from his official place and work —nor should he. The net result must be either to kill the expression of all minority opinion in our universities or to remove from their faculties those men who can at least claim initiative and courage.

I add that the Government of the people of the United States with a wise tolerance, usually to be more readily anticipated in seats of learning than in political bodies, has as yet refused to question my loyalty.

LEON R. WHIPPLE

Richmond, Va., December 8

President Duniway Replies

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of November 1 you publish a letter from Homer E. Woodbridge under the heading, "The Controversy at Colorado College." Fair-minded persons who wish to form correct judgments on the subjects treated by Mr. Woodbridge cannot rely upon his presentation for completeness or candor. He writes concerning matters on which he has been and is an active partisan.

Most of the errors and misinterpretations in Mr. Woodbridge's letter it is not expedient to deal with by the method of newspaper controversy. Whether trustees of Colorado College wish to answer statements regarding their action as to Dr. Parsons—action which was taken by them before my coming to my present position—they will decide. Your readers ought to be informed that on November 16 the following resolutions were passed by the trustees without a dissenting vote:

Be it resolved, that we, the members of the Board of Trustees of Colorado College, notwithstanding our opinion that the dismissal of Dr. E. S. Parsons in July last was justified by his conduct in collegiate matters and by his attitude toward this Board, declare our continued willingness to grant him further hearings for the presentation of any material evidence which he may wish to lay before us. Not only was this implied by our vote of August 30 to reinstate him, but he was assured in writing that he would not again be dismissed unless such action should be decided upon after an adequate hearing. Should he request it, a hearing will be expedited, to be given as promptly as it can be satisfactorily arranged. From the information now before us, it appears that Dr. Parsons does not ask or desire this Board to grant him a hearing, and therefore we take no further action on the subject at this time.

Be it also resolved, that we would be willing for the sake of conciliation to provide for full investigation by a disinterested educator as mediator, asking him to make recommendations for the wise settlement of controversy regarding the case of Dr. Parsons. The choice of a distinguished educator as mediator we would leave to agreement by President Argo, of the General Alumni Association; Dean Cajori, of the Faculty, and Mr. Irving Howbert, of this Board. To these ends, Mr. Howbert is hereby authorized to take appropriate action on behalf of the Board if it should appear to him that this proposal will be accepted by those concerned.

Regarding my acts and policies as president, Mr. Woodbridge makes serious misrepresentations. On two points only do I desire to make specific answers. The reinstatement of Dean Parsons as recommended by me on August 30 was made in entire good faith and without ambiguity—not as a final settlement of the case, but as a peace measure preliminary to such settlement. It is simply not true that I "cheerfully accept" a "copper-mine theory of administration"—if any definite meaning attaches to that branding phrase.

Whatever may be believed or disbelieved regarding "the case of Dean Parsons," there is no justification for thinking that the administration of Colorado College will be either immoral or reactionary. The ideas of radicals and revolutionists are not likely to prevail, but progressive measures of practical character will be favorably considered. The trustees have unanimously adopted the following resolution on my recommendation:

Be it resolved, that the President of the College is hereby authorized to appoint a joint committee of three Trustees and three members of the Faculty, to act under his chairmanship, to study and report recommendations for improvement of the organization and administration of the College.

C. A. DUNIWAY

Colorado College, November 19

Thomas Chandler Haliburton

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I ask through your columns for the use of any material your readers may have in the way of unpublished letters, journals, or reminiscences of Judge Thomas Chandler Haliburton, of Nova Scotia (1796-1865), the creator of "Sam Slick"? I am working on a critical biography of Haliburton, and should be grateful for any intimate personal detail concerning him.

V. L. O. CHITTICK

Columbia University, October 27

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BOOKS

Another Instalment of Channing's History

A History of the United States. By Edward Channing. Vol. IV, Federalists and Republicans, 1789-1815. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.75 net.

IN the fourth volume of his admirable work, Professor Channing deals with one of the most critical and formative periods in the history of our country—a period which saw the establishment of our national government and the solution of many perplexing problems that arose out of our relations with the Old World.

Beginning with March 4, 1789, the date set for starting operations under the new Constitution, the narrative presents first of all certain characteristics of the time, when, "living and the ideas of life" were "far removed from ours, materially, morally, and mentally," and then passes on to recount the details of government under Washington and Adams, touching upon politics, the Cabinet, office-seeking and holding, credit and finance, commerce, foreign policy, the rise of parties, and the eventual downfall of Federalism. About the middle of the volume, the author reaches the "Revolution" of 1800, which to him was not a revolution at all, but an accident of politics, and deals at length with the Jeffersonian programme, the purchase of Louisiana and what it involved, including the story of Burr, Wilkinson, and the treason charge, which he rightly reduces to its proper terms. He then reaches the intricate tangle of foreign relations, which enmeshed the country in the bonds of the embargo and other commercial devices, led up to a situation that became embarrassing and almost unbearable, because of the demands of the Napoleonic wars and the Continental System, and finally emerged in the War of 1812, to which Professor Channing devotes about a fifth of his volume. In a final chapter he treats of the peace negotiations, finding a place there, oddly enough, for an account of the Hartford Convention, and in closing announces that he has, for the time being, finished with the East, and in his next volume will concern himself with the time when "the American nation, with its back to Europe and its face to the West, addressed itself to the solution of the problem of the nineteenth century." Volume five will, therefore, treat of the West.

This history is no re-threshing of old straw: its pages are everywhere characterized by freshness, originality, and novelty, both in the information furnished and in the opinions expressed. Professor Channing has gone his own way and worked out for himself the period and its problems. He has examined anew the large body of available material which, in print and manuscript, has been accumulating rapidly during the last twenty-five years, and, using not a little of it for the first time in a general treatise, has made up his own story, without much regard to what his predecessors have done. Though he frequently refers to secondary authorities, such as Henry Adams, Admiral Mahan, and others, he uses them chiefly to check up his own conclusions, and refers to them in order that the reader may know where to go for additional facts. His notes and bibliographical comments are full and always interesting, performing a useful and necessary function in a work which is designed to impart information and elucidate historical difficulties; and his frequent acknowledgment of the assistance received from others, some of them doubtless his own students, is unusually generous. This history has been wrought by hard labor from the raw material or from material that has been only in part worked over, and it has been shaped with the art and cunning of a practiced hand into a masterpiece true in every line to the plan and purpose of the workman. If we accept Professor Channing's ideas as to what a history ought to be, we have only praise for the results accomplished; and even if we are not satisfied with his product as a model of historical craftsmanship, we recognize to the full the fairness, good sense, and shrewd wit that the author displays in his rendering of the history of the period.

A writer is entitled to his own opinion as to how his history should be written, and a reviewer is privileged to say wherein, for the purpose in hand, he deems the results incomplete. Professor Channing is writing the history of the United States, and not, apparently, of the American people. He is, therefore, probably justified in devoting the first half of the volume to an account of the working of the Federal Government, in terms of the men who composed it, and the second half to a record of diplomacy and war, as conducted by those who were entrusted with their respective missions and commands. Interspersed are chapters or portions of chapters dealing with such supplemental issues as the slave trade, the Florida question, the Barbary war, commerce in its manifold forms, and the effect of governmental policy, diplomacy, and war upon trade, prices, prosperity, and conditions of life generally. These accounts are made up of concrete statements drawn from individual careers or experiences, and of figures and estimates extracted from the gazetteers and newspapers of the day. In these sections we have some of Professor Channing's best work, accurate, informing, and generally to the point. The selection of topics, however, though not arbitrary, is somewhat haphazard, governed by preference rather than logic, for the sequences are without other nexus than that of convenience in grouping subjects that seem in a way related to each other. Professor Channing has not a logical mind, and probably does not believe that logic has anything to do with the writing of history.

When it comes to the business of presenting his subject, Professor Channing shows himself an analyst rather than a synthetist, and makes no effort to correlate the two mental processes. He always walks with his feet on the ground, observing, testing, recording. What he wants are the facts that can be associated with definite persons, for such facts only are to him capable of proof. He is interested in individuals and not in groups or masses, and he seems to care nothing for institutions, movements, or mental and social forces, because these are too vague and indefinite to be chronicled. He prefers men, their personalities, motives, likes and dislikes, successes and failures, and has little or no regard for precedent or tradition or such manifestations of popular sentiment and emotion as cannot be pinned down and labelled. Inevitably, therefore, his narrative runs very much along the surface, as would the account of a contemporary observer, and rarely looks to the past or anticipates the future. The idea of progress or development does not enter into his pages, and so restricted is his field of observation and small the stage upon which his characters move that we should hardly imagine there were seven million people living in the country the history of which he is narrating.

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The style is well adapted to this manner of writing, for it is almost conversational. We seem at times to be listening to a seminary discourse, in short staccato sentences, suitable for the discussion of "points" or the carrying on of argument. The illusion of the seminary manner is somewhat heightened by Professor Channing's fondness for complicated situations, intricate tangles, and troublesome problems. He is rarely daunted by difficulties, and rarely fails to meet them to the reader's satisfaction. He is shrewd, sagacious, and often brilliant in his analysis of a controversy, estimate of a policy, or judgment of a man, though at times, perhaps, methods and processes lie almost too near the surface and the difficulties of the task are made unduly prominent. Such a form of presentation is not conducive to ease and freedom of writing, and it is strange that Professor Channing is so unwilling to summarize, generalize, or penetrate to the deeper reaches of his subject. He makes no effort to grasp the significance of the facts that he has garnered with so much care. His narrative never stirs the blood, quickens the imagination, or impresses the reader with the idea that an American nation is in the making. Evidently Professor Channing has deliberately rejected interpretation as one of the functions of an historian.

Though interested in men, Professor Channing shows no particular skill at portraiture and leaves us to gather our impressions of historical personages by piecemeal, as it were. Nevertheless, his brief expositions of character and his conjectures of motives and purposes are as a rule sane and carry conviction. Though some exception might be taken to his description of Napoleon as the "greatest cutthroat of modern times," no fault can be found with his portrayal of Monroe as "one of those men of persistent mediocrity from whom useful and attractive Presidents have been made." His defence of John Adams is, perhaps, the most noteworthy biographical feature of this volume, and his wonder "whether Adams was not gravely misunderstood by his contemporaries" will provoke considerable sympathy, particularly when we remember that even Franklin, though deeming Adams an honest man who sometimes had great and noble flights, thought him also "sometimes mad," and that Hamilton declared that Adams "had frequently discovered a very desultory mind, not to say sometimes deranged." Just what Professor Channing means by saying that General Henry Dearborn was a New Englander, whose appointment to military command might have been due to a desire to "arouse interest where enthusiasm was entirely lacking," we cannot say. Why a New Englander should arouse more interest than any one else is not made clear.

The fondness here displayed for certain forms of speculation, not commonly met with in sober historical treatises, is characteristic. In his first volume Professor Channing committed himself to the belief that had the elder Winthrop never come to America he might have "contributed to fend off the Restoration for many a year," and so have changed the course of history, since it was "the Restoration which led directly to the American Revolution and the separation from England." In this volume are other similar statements. Aaron Burr, who so manipulated the election in New York in 1800 as to elect Jefferson and defeat Adams, is made responsible for the downfall of Federalism and the altering of "the whole course of political history and, indeed, of all kinds of history in America." Had Napoleon not sold Louisiana to the United States "there would have been no Missouri Compromise, no Texas annexation, no Mexican War, no Oregon boundary! The Kansas-Nebraska Act would never have been passed and there would have been no struggle for Kansas. Indeed, there would have been no War for Secession with its attendant orgies of Reconstruction." "Had the malarial mosquito and the hookworm been eliminated before the invention of the cotton-gin, white and not black labor might have been employed in the South," and the inference is that in such case there would have been no Civil War. Such speculation seems to us footless and its indulgence, at best, an idiosyncrasy.

Valuable as Professor Channing's work is, and indispensable as it is bound to become to the student of the history of the United States, we still think that the historian who performs his function rightly must deal not only with facts, but also with ideas, institutions, and the operation of historical and social forces, and must include the interpretation of evidence among his necessary attributes. In deciding otherwise, Professor Channing has undoubtedly followed his natural bent, but he will also fail to satisfy many of those who look to him for historical guidance.

Fifty Years in the Navy

My Fifty Years in the Navy. By Rear-Admiral Charles E. Clark, U. S. N. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $2.50 net.

THE most pleasing feature in this most readable book is the unconscious revelation of the author's engaging personality. His modesty would have prevented his adding to the already huge stock of reminiscences had not the late Dr. S. Weir Mitchell forced him to promise some day to give the world an account of his varied experiences, which include the stormy days of 1861, when the Naval Academy was moved from Annapolis to Newport, Rhode Island; gallant service during the Rebellion; efficient work in many seas in the succeeding times of peace; and unexcelled performance of duty in the war with Spain. Such an account from almost any source would be welcome, but coming from one of the few men of that day whose reputation remains unattacked in any way, it is especially interesting and valuable.

That his record entitled him to greater reward than he received is not even hinted at in his story, although well known to all possessing knowledge of his individual case. This is characteristic of the officer who freely showers praise on others, but invariably minimizes his own achievements. His affection and admiration for the late Rear-Admiral John Rodgers, United States Navy, is but one typical instance of his generosity of spirit.

It is eminently fitting that he should have begun his naval career on board the old Constitution and practically ended it in command of the Oregon, two ships whose names will never be forgotten so long as the history of the American navy is read and studied.

It was chance, rather than predilection, which took him afloat, for his boyish ambition was to enter West Point, but, no appointment to that institution being open, he accepted, instead, one to the sister academy at Annapolis. From this school in 1863, then at Newport, he was sent with his class into active service. His first assignment was to the Ossipee, of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron, which, later, took part in Farragut's Battle of Mobile Bay. The Civil War concluded, he was present at the bombardment of

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Valparaiso by the Spaniards. Later he was one of the shipwrecked crew when the Suwanee was lost in Johnson's Straits inside of Vancouver Island. Smoother sailing then ensued for him in various cruises, although at one time his vessel, the monitor Dictator, joined our fleet assembled in the Gulf of Mexico when certain events presaged possible hostilities with Spain—an episode known in naval circles as the First Cubic War. It may be remarked that the Dictator had a serious time of it on her way, being caught in a heavy gale of wind with her wheel ropes parted.

Clark was sent in 1894 to Bering Sea as senior officer of a small squadron charged with the duty of protecting the seal herd there. In this position he showed such sound judgment, so high a sense of justice, and such a faculty of inspiring his subordinates as to impress them with the feeling that he was peculiarly fitted for larger responsibilities.

What he did, four years later, when in command of the Oregon, is too well known to need repetition. The details of her famous trip from the Pacific to the Atlantic are given in the delicious diary of one of his cabin orderlies printed *verbatim et literatim* at the close of this fascinating volume.

The author is a prince of *raconteurs*, so that his autobiography was bound to contain many amusing yarns. Indeed, it may fairly be said to bristle with them. Those of the dog that levied toll on all American officers who landed at the quay in Valparaiso (p. 158), of the ignominious disappearance of the guns christened George Washington and Thomas Jefferson (p. 78), are by no means the best of his collection. Quite apropos of certain happenings to-day is General Butler's order, as Military Governor of New Orleans (p. 118), when a local orchestra refused to play the national anthem: "The orchestra of the Varieties Theatre will henceforth open with the 'Star-Spangled Banner,' close with 'Hail Columbia,' and 'Yankee Doodle' must be played at least once during the evening." But the great temptation to cite further must be resisted.

The style is simple and direct. The book is well made up; the illustrations few, but good; its index fairly complete. It should be read by all who seek to comprehend the spirit of our navy during the transition from sail to steam and during the first of our wars in which the battleship played a part.

Echoes and Inventions

Finished. By H. Rider Haggard. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

His Last Bow. By A. Conan Doyle. New York: George H. Doran Company.

The Four Corners of the World. By A. E. W. Mason. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Grim Thirteen. Edited by Frederick Stuart Greene. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Barbarians. By Robert W. Chambers. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

A Change of Air. By Katharine Fullerton Gerould. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

ONE pleasant thing about theatrical stars and heroes of popular fiction is that we need never take them too seriously when they advertise farewell tours and positively last appearances. We have been saying good-by to our old friends Allan Quatermain and Sherlock Holmes for years, and though from the titles of their latest performances we might suppose the one to be finished and the other to have made (or drawn?) his last bow, experience teaches us that there is yet hope. As for doughty little Allan, Sir Rider has thus far resisted the temptation to do what should be easy for the creator of "She"—to resuscitate him in the flesh, with renewed youth and energy for fresh achievements under the conditions of to-day. Aviation, perhaps? Here we merely take up the thread of another early episode in his experience as champion shot and top-hole adventurer of a past generation. Already he has the quaintness of a "Deerslayer." Quaint also has become the flavor of Sherlock Holmes and his faithful, fatuous satellite, Watson. In his Preface to the present collection of Sherlockian yarns, the good doctor reports his idol as "still alive and well, though crippled by occasional attacks of rheumatism." Living quietly in the country, he has, it seemed, persistently refused various "princely offers" to take up his old trade of polite sleuth. Most of the exploits here recounted, therefore, have to do with earlier years, and are in the old line of deduction and intuition—with Scotland Yard gaping at their elbow. Once, however, the great man has yielded to pressure, and this is the incident related in "The Last Bow," which brings our man very much up to date. Here, in the rôle of one Altamont, an Irish-American who has turned German spy, he confuses Berlin with false information, and confounds a high German official who, at the moment when the war breaks, is about to leave England with, as he supposes, England in his pocket. It is a good curtain for our hero, and we are not sure that Sir Conan would not be wise to leave him "at that."

England has no more ingenious or versatile tale-maker than the author of "The Four Corners of the World." He is well up in the trade, in so far as story-telling is a trade; knows all its tricks and does not abuse them, and deals in general merchandise of excellent quality. He can do you a very creditable detective story, as witness "The Affair of the Semiramis Hotel," in the present collection, with its Sherlock-Watson pair, ironical Hanaud and ingenuous Ricardo. He can turn you out an amusing and atmospheric romance of Latin America, as in "Green Paint." He can tell a crisp Kiplingish war-tale as in "One of Them" and "Peiffer"; or in the Maupassant manner as in "The Ebony Box." Or he can trouble your spine and marrow with stories of mystery and horror in divers keys, from the rather mechanical wonder of "The Clock" to the sophisticated and Jacobite psychism of "The Refuge," or the bolder Stevensonian ghastliness of "The House of Horror." We do not imply that Mr. Mason's work is feebly imitative, but it is derivative and representative and, rarely, individual, rather than ever really original. There are no dull or ill-written stories in this volume, and they should satisfy that very large constituency which responds to the short story as a clever contrivance. As such they should satisfy that insatiable devourer and tolerably complacent judge of the American short story, Mr. Edward J. O'Brien, who contributes an Introduction to certain feats of literary frightfulness assembled under the title "The Grim Thirteen." We are to take the collection as an exhibit in the supposititious case of the public (or the story-writer) against the American magazine editor, with his prejudice against "the unhappy ending." To qualify, each of these stories must be by an author

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whose work of another sort has been acceptable, and must have been rejected by some prominent magazine, on the sole ground of its grimness or unpleasantness. Mr. O'Brien thinks it very sad that there should be any such principle or practice of rejection, and shudders at the thought of what Poe's fate might have been had he been born a generation too late. This is of a piece with his assumption not only that the American short story is our great contribution to literature, but that its masterpieces are now being produced in bulk. We agree that the magazines are over-squeamish and over-timid about work of this sort. But we think they would be right in exacting of it far higher qualities of sincerity and force than of the amiable, more or less heartening product with which it must compete. The day of artificial horrors—the day from which the genius of Poe flowered—we are well enough done with. Writers of talent and ingenuity may safely play upon our good-humored interest and easy sentiment: let them beware of trying to rouse our pity and terror with a penny whistle. There is not a story in this group which can be fairly laid up against the editors who rejected them, not one with the indubitable touch of genius to lift it from the "grim" to the tragic. Half of them are written in the same style, the *American Magazine* or, let us say, *Saturday Evening Post* style, and might have been written by the same brisk, ingenious hand.

"Barbarians" shows at his best a writer whom there have been many to read and few to praise. For years Mr. Chambers has gone his well-paid way as idol of the vulgar-genteel —that unlisted constituency of *Town Topics* and the society column—and as punching-bag for criticism. Most of the time he has seemed content to be merely a clever fellow giving a certain public what it wants. Here he escapes from the musky atmosphere of the pseudo-smart, with its prostitutes of both sexes, into the brain-clearing male world of war. He begins with what appears to be good practice among American novelists, from the doughtiest masculine fire-eater to Miss Alice Brown—shying a brick at the American policy during the early years of the war. "There was treachery in the Senate, treason in the House. A plague of liars infested the republic; the land was rotting with plots. But if the authorities at Washington remained incredulous, stunned into impotency, while the din of murder filled the world, a few mere men, fed up on the mess, sickened while awaiting executive galvanization, and started east to purge their souls." Hence the personnel of the supercargo aboard a certain mule transport, bound for France: a soldier of fortune, a big-game hunter, a convalescent of the Foreign Legion, an American painter, and three American muleteers, besides several French and Belgian waiters returning, of their own choice, for service. The story that follows is really a series of tales tracing their fortunes, mainly tragic, "on the other side"; tales that, if not inspired, are honestly felt and written, and not merely manufactured for an audience or an effect. "A Change of Air" is another group of stories springing from a single situation. The world offers itself to Mrs. Gerould's fancy chiefly in its ironic aspects, smaller or greater. Cordelia Wheaton's division of most of her fortune among needy friends and relatives, and the effect upon each of them of the unexpected windfall, give full play for this writer's somewhat sardonic humor. Only one of them fully stands the test of this eccentric benevolence, and he is a figure of wistful romance very gently and charmingly rendered. Walter Leaven has in youth wished to marry the maiden who is now the shapeless and feebly mystical Cordelia, and her idea still represents to him, however dimly, the dream of youth and love. He keeps the money she has given him as a trust, and when chance strips her of the pittance she has kept, and her other beneficiaries by one sophistry or another evade the burden of her, he takes her to himself, for her closing days, in the only way possible, as a sacred charge until the end. There is no cheapening of the situation by a sentimental warming-up of the old romance, only the pure if faded beauty of a devotion and trust that need no words. Here, at least, one feels that the irony of life has been defeated on its own ground.

A Variorum Edition of Shakespeare's Sonnets

The Sonnets of Shakespeare. Edited by Raymond Macdonald Alden. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.

SHAKESPEARE'S Sonnets were first issued in a volume in 1609 with a dedication from the piratical publisher, Thomas Thorpe, "To the onlie begetter of these insuing sonnets Mr. W. H." There is no evidence that Shakespeare prepared the poems for the press; and we do not know what he thought of the volume, if indeed he ever saw it. Another arrangement of the sonnets, also without authority, appeared in the "Poems" of 1640. During the eighteenth century the sonnets suffered something of an eclipse in reputation; but since the beginning of the nineteenth they have evoked an admiration scarcely surpassed by that for Shakespeare's greatest dramas, and a curiosity rivalled only by that excited by "Hamlet."

Prof. Raymond M. Alden has now brought out what is virtually the first variorum edition, containing all the variant readings proposed by a long succession of editors and synopses of all the accumulated comment and interpretation. The time was ripe for such an edition, for recently Sir Sidney Lee, the late Mr. George Wyndham, Dean Beeching, and others have made important additions to the understanding of the sonnets, and the need was being felt for an adequate survey of the state of criticism. The extremely laborious task of collection and collation has been carried through by Professor Alden with care and accuracy; and he has shown unusual tact in summarizing the opinions of others with an occasional tincture of a sound judgment of his own. In the case of the line—

My sinful earth these rebel powers that thee array

(146, 1), where the corruption, though obvious, baffles emendation, Professor Alden is content to print three full pages of critical comment without expressing his own opinion. On the other hand, in the difficult line—

My most true minde thus maketh mine untrue

(113, 14), he supplements the summary by a strong argument for Malone's conjectural "mine eye untrue." He summarizes with great lucidity the rival arguments for Southampton and Pembroke, though he remains unpersuaded by either. On the question of the arrangement of the sonnets, he adds his own arguments against a sequence, although he does not conceal the difficulties of reaching a decision. In short, an admirable fairness in statement combined with a most painstaking labor makes this volume a worthy contribution to the memorial that scholarship and

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criticism have erected on the tercentenary of Shakespeare's death.

It is useless to note the amazing vagaries and follies of commentators which it is the duty of a variorum edition to record with all possible succinctness. The puzzling question to whom were the sonnets addressed has been answered in countless ways: Queen Elizabeth, Shakespeare himself, his illegitimate son, Anne Hathaway, and the Puritans being a few of the candidates. The Platonists, Baconians, mystics, and many other theorists have found astonishing interpretations. As a matter of fact, all these products of curiosity are scarcely to be wondered at, for the sonnets do raise many puzzling questions, which still remain insoluble in spite of the application of boundless ingenuity.

Thorpe's dedication was manifestly misinformed, for "Mr. W. H." for whom is wished "that eternitie promised by our ever living poet" was certainly not "the begetter" of all the sonnets. Recent criticism appears to tend towards the conclusions: (1) that the sonnets are not arranged in any sequence; (2) that not all, even of the first one hundred and twenty-six, are addressed to the same person, and (3) that not a few are literary exercises rather than the result of personal experiences. Nevertheless, however skeptical one may remain as to identifications and theories, one's curiosity is still excited by the dear friend, the rival poet, and the dark mistress, who will always be associated with the emotions which the sonnets record, now in dubious trivialities and again in the most superb poetry.

Professor Alden gratefully acknowledges the guidance he has received from the new variorum Shakespeare of the late Dr. Howard Furness, and the personal aid from Mr. H. H. Furness, jr. This volume of the sonnets not only follows the general plan, but imitates in binding and typography the appearance of the "New Variorum Shakespeare." Apparently, however, there is no organic connection between the two editions, though the advantages of such a connection naturally suggest themselves. The "New Variorum" has been in progress for many years and is still far from completion. In the process of time, its plan has been somewhat altered, and the accumulation of new matter has put the earlier volumes in need of revision. The only way in which this monumental work can be brought to a completion which will be at once speedy and adequate is by enlisting the services of scholars like Professor Alden to undertake the editing of individual plays.

Notes

THE Thomas Y. Crowell Company announces for publication early in 1918 the following volumes: "Tuberculosis," revised edition, by E. O. Otis; "Dictionary of Military Terms," by Edward S. Farrow; "The New Warfare," by G. Blanchon, translated by F. Rothwell.

Among the publications announced for January by Frederick A. Stokes are "The White Morning," by Gertrude Atherton; "Mistress of Men," by Flora A. Steel; "The Grey Feet of the Wind," by Cathal O'Byrne.

Boni & Liveright will publish to-day "My Uncle Benjamin," by Claude Tillier.

The Macmillan Company announces that it has in preparation a "Dictionary of Ethics and Religion," edited by Dr. Shailer Mathews and Dr. Gerald B. Smith. Early in January: "Income Tax, Law and Accounting," by Godfrey N. Nelson. "Moments of Vision," a new volume of poems, by Thomas Hardy, is also announced for publication shortly.

GIFT books which reached this office too late to be mentioned in the special section devoted by the *Nation* to such publications include the following: Robert Shackleton's "The Book of New York" (Penn Publishing Co.; $2.50 net), which bids fair to provide readers with pleasure similar to that furnished last year by the same author's attractive "Book of Boston"; a handsomely printed and decorated edition of William Morris's metrical romance, "The Life and Death of Jason" (Dodd, Mead; $3.50 net); an enthusiastic account, with photogravures, of a visit in Japan by Archie Bell under the title "A Trip to Lotus Land" (Lane; $2.50 net); a pleasantly pictured edition of Kingsley's "Water Babies" (Lippincott; $1.35 net); "A Loiterer in New York," by Helen W. Henderson—this is a choice volume from the press of Doran published at four dollars net; "Old Boston Taverns and Tavern Clubs" (Boston: Butterfield), by Samuel A. Drake, with amusing old prints and notices; a simplified version of Irving's "Alhambra" (Lippincott; 50 cents net); "The Little Tailor of the Winding Way" (Macmillan; 60 cents net), by Gertrude Crownfield; and a volume of Christmas goodwill by Cyrus Townsend Brady, bearing the title "A Little Book for Christmas" (Putnam; $1.25 net).

PROF. ROBERT F. HOXIE'S untimely death cut short a life of exceptional scientific promise. In 1915, in his book on "Scientific Labor and Management," he published the results of an exhaustive study undertaken for the Commission on Industrial Relations. This work showed that he combined the capacity for diligent and careful study of facts with a remarkable power of reaching fruitful generalizations. His "Trade Unionism in the United States" (Appleton; $2.50), which is now published, consists of the notes and lectures used during his last year of teaching, together with some chapters already published as articles in the economic journals. The result is a book which covers all of the more important aspects of American trade unionism. The leading idea of the author is that previous writers on the subject have erred in regardng trade uinionism as a homogeneous thing, whereas in fact there exist several distinct types of trade unionism corresponding to the group psychologies of several classes of workers. These types he endeavors to define and delimit. Professor Hoxie is insistent that these varieties of trade unionism are true types and not mere variations of a single type. Undoubtedly, the biological analogy is pressed much farther than is really necessary for the purpose, but this, in itself, does not invalidate the truth of the idea. The value of such an hypothesis depends chiefly upon how far it proves useful in explaining differences in trade-union method. Unfortunately, the present work leaves much doubt on that point. The chapter on collective bargaining, for example, might have been written by an investigator who had never heard of the theory of multiple types. It seems clear that Professor Hoxie had not yet found time to think out trade-union method in terms of his leading principle. It remains to be seen whether the conception will bear fruit in other hands. Apart from this novel fundamental idea, the book is interesting and suggestive. The glimpses of Professor Hoxie's method as a teacher are peculiarly attractive and will deepen the sense of loss suffered through his early death.

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THE *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* expresses itself in "Scots and Scots' Descendants in America," edited by Mr. D. MacDougal, of the Caledonian Publishing Company. But the book is also touched with characteristic canniness, as when Mr. Andrew Carnegie gets twenty-four pages of biography, about five times as much as falls to the portion of any one else. The book is a good specimen of *in maiorem gloriam* productions and will give satisfaction to its one hundred and eighteen biographied. About a third of it consists of little articles on the part played by Scots in the settlement and development of the United States and Canada and on their contributions to American life and civilization. These have been carefully compiled and are often very fresh and suggestive. Thus it is remarked that while there are Clan and Burns Societies everywhere, no one has every heard of "the Scotch vote." Has the Scot, perfervid yet canny, succeeded in solving the problem of sentimental devotion to his race and fidelity to his adopted country? If so, it is the greatest triumph yet of education and oatmeal.

"ACROSS the Years," by Prof. Charles E. Bennett, of Amherst College (Stratford Co.; $1), is a little collection of "translations and adaptations" from various Latin poets. Catullus and Horace are as usual the favorite sources. The book contains some pleasant verse; but it must be said that Professor Bennett, in his effort to display the universality of Latin poetry, seems to have lost contact with the individuality of Latin poets. In his version of "The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis," the pedantry and pathos of Catullus are lost in the careful regularity of Professor Bennett's English. At the other extreme, the speed and wit of the lampoon which Catullus addressed to Marrucinus disappear into a mist of Italian fruit-peddler's dialect:

> What for, Marrucin', when you coma my house, and we maka da eat and da drink,
> You steala my nap' when I turna my back? You call dat a joke? Wat you tink?

Perhaps, if Professor Bennett were not so anxious to vary the forms and the external characteristics of his adaptations, he would succeed in making his verse carry a more living and personal burden. For this is the paradox of all translation; the translator cannot even suggest the real virtues of the original if he modestly seeks to leave himself out of the translation. And Professor Bennett has been too modest.

IT is an affable but not familiar ghost that reappears in this volume of fading daguerreotypes, "Life and Letters of Christopher Pearse Cranch" (Houghton Mifflin; $3.50 net). Preacher, writer of verse, musician and painter, a man of refined but pallid culture, and withal of charming social gifts, Cranch was a picturesque figure in the Boston Transcendental circles of the middle last century, and with the English-speaking colony that foregathered in Rome a little later. He was a familiar of Emerson, Lowell, Margaret Fuller, Curtis, the Storys, Hawthorne, and the Brownings, as well as being in the way of meeting many of the leading writers and painters of the day at home and abroad. But the American biographer will look in vain for any definite or valuable portraiture. The reader, however, who wishes to find a picture of the pale, reflected, undisturbed, and comfortable condition of American arts and letters of the period will do no better than to turn lightly the pages of this volume. But if he is looking for the impact upon a man of varied culture of the forces that were to shake artists, composers, and writers out of their traditional ease, for the memories of an alert raconteur, he will turn away as from a sago pudding. Through all this storm and stress Cranch's "sails were never to the tempest given." He appears to have been unaware of such Boston painters as George Fuller or William Morris Hunt; he thought Story's "Cleopatra" the most impressive modern statue he had seen, but never seems to have been moved by the sculpture of Dubois or Rodin. Emerson politely complimented him on some verses, but in a letter written to Cranch in 1844, he speaks plainly of the whole duty of poets:

> Many, many repentances he must suffer who turns his thoughts to the riddle of the world, and hopes to chant it fitly; each new vision supersedes and discredits all the former ones, and with every day the problem wears a grander aspect, and will not let the poet off so lightly as he meant; it reacts, and threatens to absorb him. He must be the best mixed man in the universe, or the universe will drive him crazy when he comes too near its secret.

"Leaves of Grass" was already in the making when those foretelling words were written, and Emerson himself had perhaps even then expressed his contempt for the "serenader's art" in "Merlin."

ON opening a book with the title "George Eliot and Thomas Hardy," and finding the first page sprinkled with such words as "ideal," "formative influence," "hospitals," and "sanitation," one might be tempted to close the book and put it away. As a matter of fact the reviewer has just read through such a volume, by Lina Wright Berle (Mitchell Kennerley; $1.50 net), and found it, in the main, surprisingly sensible and sound. Miss Berle's thesis is that George Eliot believed in a power of character in the human breast and so was able to portray characters, whereas Hardy, following the lead of modern Continental literature, believed in no central control, but merely in bundles of impulses, and so was seldom able to conceive a real character. Stated thus, the thesis may seem to be rather crude and sterile; as worked out by Miss Berle it becomes fruitful of excellent criticism, at once ethical and æsthetic, as the best literary criticism always is. Only the last chapter gives one pause. In her use of the words "radical" and "conservative" Miss Berle is somewhat arbitrary, and in a manner that may lead to confusion in the minds of many readers.

INTRIGUED by a saying of Mr. Woodberry's—not a sapient utterance—to the effect that "the heart of the Puritan is a closed book," Miss Elizabeth Deering Hanscom, of Smith College, has made a volume of selections from early American letters and journals, which, with a certain defiance, she calls "The Heart of the Puritan" (Macmillan; $1.50). Miss Hanscom herself is something of a wit, as is shown by her "Praefatio" and headings; we wish she had been pedant enough to have given the exact provenance of all her extracts. Such an appendix would not have marred her book, but would have added to its interest. Most of her selections, to be sure, are from perfectly familiar sources, but some of them are not, and it is vexing to be left in ignorance. Apart from that blemish, the book is excellent—excellent, we may add, not only as a piece of editing, but as a mass of surprisingly good reading. It would be well if some of our

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smart youths who speak so patronizingly of the Puritans would read this volume of letters, and mark and inwardly digest.

ONE of the most effective spokesmen of the great anti-German majority of Swedes has been the gifted poet, K. G. Ossian-Nilsson. His last book, "Sven Hedin: Nobleman," translated by H. G. Wright (London: T. Fisher Unwin), shows the cruel injustice involved in the belief current abroad that the small but powerful clique of "activists" really represent Sweden. Closely examined, these men are the same "Storsvenskar" (ultra-conservatists or super-jingoes) who throughout history have been a millstone around the neck of mother Svea, and have, more than once, led her to the verge of ruin. Professing fear of Russia's aims—a fear which was justifiable enough a decade ago—they have worked to stampede their country into Pan-Germanic adventures; whereas the surprising fact is becoming known only now that German eggings-on were largely responsible for Muscovite aggressiveness in that quarter. Sven Hedin, the explorer of central Asia, embraced the creed of the "activists" with all the zeal and indiscretion of a recent convert. From being a scholar he has turned agitator. Ossian-Nilsson's irony is trained on his most recent exploits, when he was taken under the wings of the All-Highest and "personally conducted" about the east and west fronts, where he was allowed to see the pomp and circumstance of war, but not its horrors. At any rate, the works from his pen betray both a plentiful lack of independence and an astounding callousness to the monstrosities of German and Turkish warfare. One can thus sympathize with the author's bitter statement that the heaviest punishment yet meted out to his sorely tried country is to be represented in the eyes of the world by such men as Sven Hedin.

"COMMUNITY, A Sociological Study, being an attempt to set out the nature and fundamental laws of social life" (Macmillan; $3.75)—all this in captions of various fonts on the title-page—is a production of some 430-odd pages, by R. M. Maciver. For having been so recently set out, the attainment of such proportions is somewhat ominous. Mr. Maciver is one of those writers who use the italic of insistence rather irritatingly; further, in order that the reader may not miss participation in the author's starts of amused amazement and other diverting emotions, there is a good deal of humorous prodding and nudging with the exclamation-point. But, aside from this solicitude for the reader's enjoyment, if it be such, there is not much to lighten the task of plodding through pages of distinctions and re-distinctions. Nothing very novel or enthralling emerges from the progress. There are little wreaths and ornaments of literary allusion strung up here and there; but the going is dismal. The author has his own idea of what a society is: *"Wherever living beings enter into, or maintain willed relations with one another, there society exists.* All such willed relations are the primary social facts, and their consequences are the secondary social facts. As these relations and their consequences reach to the world's end and through all time, determining every possible activity of man and all other living things, it is clear that society is an element or function of life itself, present wherever life is found, but present *in a greater or less degree.*" The "clue" by which "we can bring all the other aspects of communal development, the growth of communal economy, the growth of environmental control, under a single law" is no less than the following: *"The actual development of personality attained in and through community by its members is the measure of the importance these attach to personality both in themselves and in their fellow-men."* Of the wide terrain covered, including not a little classical ground, in chasing this clue to cover, it is impracticable to present a sketch-map. One can only say, being somewhat under classical suggestion:

μάλα πολλὰ μεταξύ,
οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα.

DR. HORATIO W. DRESSER, the honorary president of the International New Thought Alliance, has nowhere given greater proofs of his originality and ingenuity than in the invention of new titles for his successive publications. Already the author of an even dozen books upon the New Thought, he has this year issued two more, which he calls "A Handbook of the New Thought" (Putnam; $1.25 net) and "The Spirit of the New Thought" (Crowell; $1.25 net). Of the latter, it should be said at once, he is the editor rather than the author—though he writes a larger part of it than any two of the other contributors. The volume is made up of short essays and addresses upon various aspects of the New Thought by various new thinkers, most of them written some years ago and selected by the editor as typical expressions of the broader aspects of the movement. Their aim, as he tells us, is to "point the way beyond mere healing to an interpretation of life from the inner point of view, disclosing a broadly spiritual vision, a practical approach to Christianity." The papers deal with such subjects as "The Gospel of Healing," "Can Disease Be Entirely Destroyed?" "The Disease of Apprehensiveness," "Concentration," "Criticisms of the New Thought," etc. The book closes with a final chapter by Dr. Dresser on "The Laws of Divine Healing" and a useful bibliography.

THE "Handbook of the New Thought," coming as it does entirely from Dr. Dresser's pen, is more systematic than its companion volume, and is to be especially commended to those who desire a brief but comprehensive view of the nature, history, and aims of the movement. No one is better qualified than Dr. Dresser to present an authoritative account of the New Thought, both because of his long association with it (amounting to nearly thirty-five years) and also because of his very reasonable and even empirical way of looking at the whole subject. Although he has given up his entire life to the New Thought movement, he is in no way fanatical over it, and his emphasis has ever been upon the broader and more truly spiritual problems involved. For him the New Thought is something very much deeper than an easy way of getting rid of disease. "The greatest merit of the New Thought," he writes, "is that it traces responsibility to the individual, and shows that each of us must begin any desired change or reform by modifying his own attitude and the conduct growing therefrom. . . . The priceless gift of this whole practical movement is the method of realizing the vital presence of spiritual realities. This method can be assimilated without accepting any of the extravagant claims brought forward by those who permit the cosmos to evolve about the affirmative ego. This is a real contribution to human development. It opens the way for every individual to apply religious and psycho-

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logical principles to real advantage. . . . For some, this direct method of approach to the divine presence is the equivalent of a new revelation of Christianity." While most of us will probably feel constrained to consider Dr. Dresser and his colleagues over sanguine in their hope for the control of disease by the will, there can be little doubt that the proper use of the mind can accomplish more for the benefit of the body than we yet know; and a movement such as the New Thought, which means to see how far this beneficial influence really goes, and combines with this attempt true religion and earnest thought, in place of the Freudian foulness and the Eddyan nonsense, deserves well of the community.

National Miniatures

James A. Reed

IN the mind of the habitual consumer of newspaper paragraphs, the one constant association with a Missourian is the plea: "Show me." When, therefore, he meets a man from Missouri like Senator James A. Reed, who is always bent on showing everything to everybody instead of being shown, he doesn't know what to think. Even experienced journalists are sometimes puzzled to decide into what category to put Reed. John Temple Graves, for instance, exalts him as a great reformer; George Creel, with equal assurance, pelts him as a pompous pretender; between these opposing judgments the taxable public pay their money and take their choice. The one fact about him which is absolutely certain is that, though he proudly hails from Missouri, he did not begin life there, but in Ohio, the home of Hayes and Garfield, McKinley and Taft. While a youth he was taken thence by his parents, not yet into Missouri, but into Iowa, the State of broad grain fields and small cities, of rock-ribbed Republicans and soft-shell turtles. There he got his schooling and was admitted to the bar. It was not till he was twenty-six that he crossed over into Missouri, seeking a combination of urban activity with rustic habits and environment, and finding it in Kansas City, at that time a rather sordid little railway town with a fringe of forests and corn fields that fairly bristled with placards advertising beautiful corner lots and grand business sites for sale—a market for real estate "futures."

Here he settled down to practice law and politics. He was not long in elbowing his way into law, but it took him ten years to break into politics. By 1898 he was able to make his first bow as prosecuting attorney, and it has been his boast ever since that of 287 cases he tackled he procured convictions in all but two. His next aspiration was to the Mayoralty, which he attained with the aid of a group of Democratic politicians who were running local affairs at the time, and at once he turned his guns upon the "monopolistic" street-railway and electric-lighting interests, quite ignoring the fact that it was the enlightened policy they had pursued, in extending their public utilities through unprofitable suburbs, which had done more than anything else to make Kansas City a populous and thrifty centre. But the "monopoly" was broken—or at least cracked—by the elevation of one of Reed's closest political friends to the head of the railway and lighting systems, and the friend made it his pressing business to retain Reed as counsel for the two concerns.

Next the gubernatorial bee found a rift in Reed's hat, crawled in, and set up a vigorous buzzing. Joseph W. Folk was the choice of the honest elements among the voting population, almost regardless of party, but Reed flattered himself that he had a good chance if he could get into the fight early enough and stay there. By the time Folk had beaten him to exhaustion, he discovered his mistake. Folk served four years as Governor—very wholesome and fruitful years in the main—and during this period, and for a little while later, Reed contented himself with his employment as corporate counsel. Then the new railway monopoly, which apparently was less popular than the old, suffered a rather serious backset, and his heart turned once more politicsward. Entering the Senatorship contest against David R. Francis, our present Ambassador to Russia, he carried off the prize; and after a term in which he took a rather conspicuous part in the debates on anti-Trust legislation, always urging the argument that mere dissolution of a combination accomplishes nothing except to make its component parts richer than before, and that nothing would suffice to crush a Trust except to throw it into the hands of receivers and sell out its property, root and branch. Our nation did not become directly involved in the war till he had received a second election to the Senate, so his opposition to the policies of the Administration, with all his puerile and silly flings at "some Hoover" and the like, did not occur till too late for the better people of his State to manifest their resentment at the polls. He still hangs on, and presumably will continue to do so till his constituents have another chance to vote.

Reed is not an inspiring person to look at or listen to. In the midst of his square face is set a nose which is a perfect triangle—almost a right-angle triangle, but just a trifle too long-pointed for that. His eyebrows take an inward and upward curve and end in a slight pucker, giving him an expression of chronic dissatisfaction. His hair is pretty well turned to gray, though his years number only fifty-six. His voice has all the inflections of the old-fashioned camp-meeting exhorter, and his style in ordinary debate may be well illustrated by a brief passage from one of his anti-Trust speeches, in which he freely pounded his party for not carrying its legislation to sufficient extremes. "We are playing the hypocrite," he declared. "We came here sounding our cymbals, girding up our loins, burnishing our

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weapons; we said to all the world: 'When this great Democratic host shall assemble, when it shall bear down upon the citadels of greed, of corruption, of plunder—ah, then you will see how valiant arms, backed by honest hearts, will hew a clean path for the common people to tread!' But now, having marched up the hill to the heroic voices of the bugles of war, we are sitting down by the campfire and attuning our ears to the seductive notes of 'Home, Sweet Home.' Some of us will hear from home."

Doubtless. Cyclone Davis, a twin orator of the other chamber, heard from home, and the call was so loud that he went back to Texas to stay. Somehoover Reed still lingers on, but——

TATTLER

Reviews of Plays

"THE SANDS OF FATE"

AMONG the innumerable war-books of the time one of the most interesting is "The Sands of Fate," by Sir Thomas Barclay (Houghton Mifflin; $1.50 net). It commands attention because the author, already well known in the world of letters and diplomacy, is equipped with knowledge and experience. Although written in dramatic form, the work, being in the main a succession of dialogues, is unfitted by that fact, as well as by its length, for theatrical production. The personages, nearly all of whom are professedly studies from life, include the Kaiser and Kaiserin of Germany, the Crown Prince, von Tirpitz, von Bethmann-Hollweg, von Jagow, Herr Ballin, von Bülow, Bernhardi, and others whose names have been made familiar by the events of the last three years. Among them moves an anonymous professor, representing all that is best in liberal, learned, and philosophic Germany. And it may be added that all these characters are sketched with great vividness and notable skill in discrimination. All the dialogue, although the bulk of it is consistent with established facts, is, of course, purely imaginary, although cleverly harmonized with the great mass of contemporaneous testimony. The book is described frankly as a phantasy, but is intensely realistic, until in the last act it adventures into the realm of the prophetic. What it pretends to do is to summarize the conditions and the incidents in Berlin and Potsdam during the week or ten days immediately preceding the declaration of war by Germany, the state of affairs in that country in 1915, and finally the influences (speculative) which in the end will bring the Kaiser to terms. Naturally, it is in its interpretation of the past that it is most impressive. As might be expected the point of view is strongly British, but the German attitude is reflected with what seems to be thorough, comprehensive, and rarely judicial temper. Any attempt at brief synopsis would be futile and probably misleading. Suffice it to say that the story makes fascinating reading and is told with much verisimilitude. At points it runs counter to popular belief. It represents the Kaiser, for instance, as being, up to the last moment, averse to war—in spite of all his hectoring and scabbard jingling—until it was forced upon him by the intrigues of the Crown Prince and his party carried on in his absence. Then, finding himself committed and in danger of being ridiculous, he, in his crazy egoism and ambition, saw red and ran amuck, revolting utterly against the counsel to which he had listened hitherto, of the Professor, Herr Ballin, the Kaiserin, and others, who denounced war as unutterably horrible, wasteful, and useless. The scenes in which these discussions are carried on, with their intimate glimpses of domestic, social, and political life in high places, and revelations of personal characteristics—whether imaginary or not—are portrayed with remarkable vitality and no little literary skill. Better or more illuminative dialogue, of the sort, it would not be easy to find. At the last the Kaiser, confronted by revolution, proclaims his readiness to accept proffered terms of peace, surrender absolutism, and bow to the will of constitutional authority. The subject which Sir Thomas has chosen is too large for theatrical purposes, but it is tolerably safe to guess that he could write an excellent historical drama on a more restricted theme.

J. R. T.

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Finance

The Stock Market and the War News

WHEN prices on the Stock Exchange, early last week, were falling at the rate of 2 and 3 per cent. a day, Wall Street was asking what possible influence could arise to stop the movement. Every holder of stocks was selling; nobody was buying; even "covering purchases for the short account," such as used to cut a leading figure after a sharp decline in prices, could no longer be reckoned on, since "bear operations" had by common consent been practically eliminated. Nothing, so we were told, stood in the way of indefinite continuance of the break. On Thursday came a sudden, rapid, and general recovery, which carried prices 3 to 6 per cent. above the week's low figure.

The moral of the incident is simple enough. "Buying power" continues to exist, despite the commandeering of capital for the war loans. So much might, indeed, have been inferred from the mere fact that the 700,000 shares, sold on the not very violent decline in one preceding day, had evidently been bought by some one. If ready purchasers had not been at hand, then either prices would have gone to a purely nominal basis or else trading would have ceased. But the inference was equally obvious that these buyers put in their orders because they believed that, granting all unfavorable considerations, stocks had fallen below intrinsic values.

What had happened in the market, then, was exactly what used to happen on occasions of hysterical apprehension even in the older days of normal Stock Exchange conditions. Peo-

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ple who took counsel of nothing but vague fears, and who listened to nothing but foolish "rumors," had parted with their investments at a heavy sacrifice. People who judged the whole situation with a calm and steady mind had bought at a bargain.

There has been enough of the unpleasant in this week's European news; but there has been nothing which came unheralded, or which need have caught the observant watcher off his guard. Behind all the shifts and turns in the military campaign and Europe's political situation there has remained the outstanding fact that Germany is still suing for peace through whatever avenues are open to her, and that Germany's antagonists are rejecting all such overtures except on the basis of a righteous peace. The testimony of history is reasonably clear as to what such an attitude signifies, and the German Government, like the Confederate Government when its similar roundabout overtures for peace in 1864 accompanied a seeming triumph of its armies, knows better than its antagonists what its own condition is.

In the general decline of prices on the Stock Exchange, last week, no movement attracted more attention than that in the short-term Government and municipal bonds, placed in this market by our present allies in the earlier years of the war. This table illustrates the movement, giving date of maturity, issue price, the price when last week opened, and last week's lowest:

	Issue price.	Price Dec. 8.	Last week.
Anglo-French 5s 1921	96	89¾	84⅞
American Foreign Securities 5s..1919	98	93⅞	90½
United Kingdom 5s.....1918	98	97¾	97¼
United Kingdom 5½s.....1918	99.52	99¾	99⅛
United Kingdom 5½s.....1919	99¼	95	93⅜
United Kingdom 5½s.....1921	98½	91¼	89
City of Paris 6s 1921	98¾	80	73½
City of Bordeaux 6s 1919	98	79⅞	74½
City of Lyons 6s 1919	98	79⅝	74¼
City of Marseilles 6s 1919	98	80¼	74¾

Wall Street ascribed last week's declines to the European military uncertainties, resulting from the betrayal of the Allies by the Russian Bolsheviki and the renewal of the German offensive in the west. It is conceivable that some of last week's sellers had allowed their imaginations to run wild with the idea of German conquest of Europe and a prodigious indemnity imposed on enemy Governments and cities. If so, the decline in these securities was merely one more reflection of the senseless hysteria which momentarily seized on Wall Street.

It will be observed that (as was natural) the decline was smallest in bonds, like the "United Kingdom" issues, which are secured by collateral. But it also appears that bonds with a near maturity were considerably less affected than securities with two to four years yet to run. This second fact is equally logical, if uncertainties of a longer future are the governing influence. But it hardly squares with theories of an immediate German victory.

Undoubtedly, the decline was largely a psychological matter; but the psychology was probably much less fear of a German victory than the instinct of hoarding capital for our own future war loans. But for that instinct, an Anglo-French bond yielding, at last week's price, 10 per cent. net per annum if held until maturity, and a City of Paris bond yielding 15 per cent., would be in such instantaneous demand as to drive up the prices with the greatest violence. Yet absence of "bargain-hunters" does not alter the fact of a bargain. In January, 1862, United States Government 5 per cents, redeemable in 1865, sold at 85, which yielded more than 10 per cent. to the investor. ALEXANDER D. NOYES

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

FICTION

Vaizey, Mrs. G. De H. About Peggy Saville. Putnam.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Parker, E. H. China. Revised edition. Dutton. $2.50 net.
Passages from the Journal of Thomas Russell Sullivan, 1891-1903. Houghton Mifflin. $2 net.
Pears, E. Abdul Hamid. Holt. $2 net.
Peterson, A. E., and Edwards, G. W. New York as an Eighteenth-Century Municipality. Vol. II. Longmans, Green. $5 net.
Rhodes, J. F. History of the Civil War, 1861-1865. Macmillan. $2.50 net.
Roof, K. M. The Life and Art of William Merritt Chase. Scribner. $4 net.
Rosenbach, A. S. W. The Unpublishable Memoirs. Mitchell Kennerley. $1.50 net.
Semmes, J. E. John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803-1891. Baltimore: The Norman, Remington Co. $6 net.
Taylor, A. H. E. The Future of the Southern Slavs. Dodd, Mead. $3 net.
The Journal of Submarine Commander von Forstner. Translated by Mrs. R. Codman. Houghton Mifflin. $1 net.
The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution. Edited by A. S. Blackstone. Little, Brown. $2 net.
Trotter, L. J. History of India. Revised by W. H. Hutton. Macmillan. $3.50 net.
Von Hedemann, Franzisca, Baroness. Love Stories of Court Beauties. Doran. $3 net.
Weale, B. L. P. The Fight for the Republic in China. Dodd, Mead. $3.50 net.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Athearn, W. S. Religious Education and American Democracy. Pilgrim Press. $1.50 net.
Atkins, G. G. The Godward Side of Life. Pilgrim Press. $1.50 net.
Clark, F. E. In the Footsteps of St. Paul. Putnam. $2 net.
Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings. Vol. IX: Mundas-Phrygians. Scribner.
Hankey, D. The Church and the Man. Macmillan. 60 cents.
Macmillan, K. D. Protestantism in Germany. Princeton University Press. $1.50 net.
More, P. E. Platonism. Princeton University Press. $1.75 net.
Rauschenbusch, W. A. Theology for the Social Gospel. Macmillan. $1.50 net.
Streeter, B. H., and Others. Immortality: An Essay in Discovery. Macmillan. $2.25 net.
Sunday, Billy. Love Stories of the Bible. Putnam. $1.50 net.

GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMICS

Thorpe, F. N. The Essentials of American Constitutional Law. Putnam. $1.75 net.
White, W. C., and Heath, L. J. A New Basis for Social Progress. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.
Zollman, C. American Civil Church Law. Longmans, Green.

POETRY

A Book of Verse of the Great War. Yale University Press. $2 net.
Chenery, R. B. At Vesper-Time. Putnam.
Etienne (Lieut. R. N.). Verses from the Grand Fleet. London: Erskine MacDonald, Ltd.
Kenyon, J. B. Reed Voices. New York: James T. White & Co.
Mackereth, J. A. The Red, Red Dawn. London: Erskine MacDonald, Ltd.
Maynard, T. Drums of Defeat, and Other Poems. London: Erskine MacDonald, Ltd.

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SCIENCE

Dixon, R. The Human Side of Birds. Stokes. $1.60 net.
Fabre, J. H. Insect Adventures. Dodd, Mead. $2 net.
Keen, W. W. Medical Research and Human Welfare. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.
Longstaff, F. V., and Atteridge, A. H. The Book of the Machine Gun. Dodd, Mead.
Marshall, A. A Short Account of Explosives. Blakiston. $1.50 net.
Munday, A. H. The Eyes of the Army and Navy: Practical Aviation. Harper. $1.50 net.
Spring, LaV. W. Non-Technical Chats on Iron and Steel. Stokes. $2.50 net.
Wright, M. M. Preserving and Pickling. Penn Publishing Co.
Wright, M. M. Salads and Sandwiches. Penn Publishing Co.

DRAMA AND MUSIC

Barker, G. Three Short Plays. Little, Brown. $1 net.
English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians. Collected by O. D. Campbell and C. J. Sharp. Putnam. $3.50 net.
Gordon, G. Airy Nothings, or What You Will. Sturgis & Walton. $1.25 net.
Hutchinson, I. W. How Joy Was Found. Stokes.

ART

Fedden, R. Modern Water-Colour. Houghton Mifflin. $2 net.
Siren, O. Giotto and Some of His Followers. 2 vols. Harvard University Press.

JUVENILE

Barzini, L. The Little Match Man. Penn Publishing Co. $1.25 net.
Bassett, S. W. The Story of Sugar. Penn Publishing Co. 75 cents net.
Brown, E. C. The Three Gays in Maine. Penn Publishing Co. $1 net.
Browne, E. G. Songs and Stories for the Little Ones. Dodd, Mead. $1.25 net.
Crump, I. The Boy's Book of Mounted Police. Dodd, Mead. $1.35 net.
Curtis, A. T. A Little Maid of Ticonderoga. Penn Publishing Co. $1 net.
Donovan, M. R. Old Mother Goose. Penn Publishing Co.
Freehoff, W. A. The Young Farmer at College. Penn Publishing Co. $1.25 net.
Garland, J. Ross Grant on the Trail. Penn Publishing Co. $1.35 net.
Ginther, M. P. Beth Anne's New Cousin. Penn Publishing Co.
Gray, V. G. Margery Morris. Penn Publishing Co. $1.25 net.
Herford, O., and Clay, J. C. Happy Days. Mitchell Kennerley.
Munro, F. Johnnie Snoozle Mouse in the Big House. Penn Publishing Co.
Newberry, P. Castaway Island. Penn Publishing Co. $1.75 net.
Nicholas, W. T. The Safety-First Club and the Flood. Penn Publishing Co. $1.25 net.
Patterson, A. deC. The Enchanted Bird. Penn Publishing Co.
Porter, B. C. Trudy and Timothy. Penn Publishing Co. $1 net.
Sheppard, W. C. Don Hale in the War Zone. Penn Publishing Co. 60 cents net.

TEXTBOOKS

Kumm, H. K. W. African Missionary Heroes and Heroines. Macmillan. $1.25 net.
Sedgwick, W. T., and Tyler, H. W. A Short History of Science. Macmillan. $2.50 net.
Ward, C. H. Punctuation Leaves for Use with Sentence and Theme. Scott, Foresman.
Ward, C. H. Sentence and Theme. Scott, Foresman.
Warshaw, J. Albes Viajando Por Sud America. Holt.

OUR DEMOCRACY

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By CARL ZOLLMANN, LL.B. Member of the Bars of Illinois and Wisconsin. Paper Covers. Price $3.50.

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Summary of the News

THE Interallied Naval War Board convened from November 29 to the 30th in Paris under the presidency of M. Leygues, the French Minister of Marine. Representatives from France, Great Britain, the United States, Italy, and Japan were present; it is decided that these representatives are to be permanently at hand, during the progress of the war, to attend the frequent meetings of the Board in the future. A definite plan for the intimate coördination of all economic and scientific resources has been outlined, each Admiralty undertaking to keep its Paris representative well informed of all changes and devices that are introduced from time to time, so that they may be available for the other nations represented at the Board. It is important to note, however, that the individual responsibility of the Allied commanders at sea is in no way controlled.

ON December 15 the new draft regulations went into force, and questionnaires are now being issued relative to all future draft units in the army. It is interesting to note that Secretary Baker's annual report for the War Department, while refraining from any revelation of the dispositions made of United States troops in the war as well as other strategic information, explicitly declares that the War Department is not in favor of the adoption of universal training as a national policy. Secretary Baker states that the Department has never asked, and does not intend to ask, for legislation on this subject, "chiefly for the reason that the formation of a permanent military policy will inevitably be affected by the arrangement consequent upon the termination of the present war. Civilized men must hope that the future has in store relief from the burden of armament, and destruction, and waste of war."

BY a vote of 282 to 128 the House of Representatives on Monday adopted the resolution proposing an amendment to the Federal Constitution which should prohibit the liquor traffic in this country. The resolution, which with slight alterations passed the Senate in August, now goes back to that body for confirmation. It will then be submitted to the several States for ratification. To be effective, action by the States must be taken within seven years. As twenty-eight States are already dry, their concurrence in the amendment, together with that of eight other States, will make prohibition a law of the nation.

RELIEF for the stricken city of Halifax has been interrupted by a third blizzard since the disaster occurred. Burial parties, supplies for the 25,000 homeless, and medical stores for the 6,000 wounded have all been affected by the bad weather. The latest figures of the disaster are: Known dead, 1,280; identified, 940; unaccounted for, 1,920; wounded, 6,000; homeless, 25,000. The Mayor of Halifax has expressed the opinion that the sufferers will continue to need help during the winter.

DETAILS have been issued simultaneously by the War and Navy Departments regarding the casualties suffered by our forces in the sinking of the destroyer Jacob Jones, and by the engineer unit that was involved in the British reverse at Cambrai. The destroyer lost fifty men outright by the explosion of the enemy's torpedo, while the engineers are reported by Gen. Pershing to have lost thirteen men, who are listed as "missing." Field-Marshal Haig has addressed an official commendation to Gen. Pershing of the gallantry with which the engineer unit acquitted itself in the surprise attack at Cambrai.

AS a result of the findings of the court-martial on the murders committed during the rioting at Houston, Tex., last August, by soldiers of the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry, thirteen negro soldiers were hanged, forty-one sentenced to life imprisonment, four for short terms, while five were acquitted.

THE Senate inquiry into the lack of ordnance and supplies in the War Department has been thorough and searching. The inquiry covered the failure to provide adequate supplies of machine guns and rifles, and a lack of material organization after the appropriation of $100,000,000 by Congress last year. Gen. Crozier, Chief of Ordnance, laid the blame on the War Department, and one result of the inquiry has already borne fruit in Secretary Baker's formation of a special super War Board, which will supervise and coördinate the work of all other boards in the country.

SIR ERIC GEDDES has surveyed the submarine situation in the brief statement that the menace "is held, but not yet mastered." The shipbuilding is not adequate, as yet, to the losses. He stated that more submarines were being used by Germany than ever before, and the significance of the sudden fall and the appalling rise of sinkings is traced to the fact that the enemy is now essaying a great submarine offensive to synchronize with his impending drive on the western front.

ON the Italian front the Teutonic forces have resumed their offensive between the Brenta and Piave Rivers, while a drive is now ready for launching on the Asiago plateau in order to gain admission to the plains. The first snowfall has led the enemy to renew his efforts at winning a decision on the Italian sectors before winter imposes a stalemate. A sensational exploit by the Italian navy, when motor boats penetrated the mine defences of Trieste and torpedoed two battleships, has been officially confirmed in an Austrian report of the sinking of the battleship, the Wien.

PORTUGAL, according to an official statement made by the new régime that has succeeded to power as a result of the recent revolution, is to remain in the war, and to observe all her agreements with the Allies against Germany, and to maintain all her previous international obligations.

AFTER a siege of conflicting rumors the situation in Russia in respect of the outcome of the conflict raging between the Cossack elements and the Bolshevik Government is still in doubt, and the only definite news is that confirming the ratification of an armistice with Germany. The agreement was signed at Brest-Litovsk December 15, became effective the next day, and will remain in force until January 14. A provision in the agreement states that peace negotiations are to begin immediately after the signing of the armistice. Coincident with this news comes the statement that the German Socialist, Philip Scheidemann, is on his way to Stockholm, according to the *Vorwärts*, to work for what "99 per cent. of the German people want—namely, peace." A trustworthy correspondent in Petrograd states that the Constituent Assembly announced by the Bolshevik régime has ended in failure; only 50 members, out of the 600 expected, were present at the meeting, and some of these were arrested by the Bolshevik officials.

PRESIDENT WILSON appears to have come to the conclusion that the Government must control the railways of the country for the duration of the war, and will soon address Congress on the subject. While the President favors such control, he desires that the operation of the roads be continued under the existing Railroad War Board, an unofficial body composed of railway executives. The railway workers have pledged their support of any plan adopted by the President. No details are available of the plan for this important change from private to governmental control.

MEANWHILE, the country has been faced by a coal famine. Dr. Garfield, the Fuel Administrator, told the War Service Committees that only a reduced consumption by the nation as a whole would avert the calamity. In Baltimore the shortage was keenly felt during the past week, and electric service was suspended. In Ohio, Gov. Cox seized coal supplies to relieve the pressure in that State, thus defying the power of the Fuel Administration. He has been taken to task by Dr. Garfield for this step, and warned that there can be no State interference with the Federal Administration of Fuel. Dr. Garfield urges upon the entire country a reduced consumption in order that first consideration may be given the pressing needs of all war industries. The transportation of the supplies necessary for an adequate distribution is largely disturbed by the severe weather conditions prevailing at present.

THE Food Administration is about to make a thorough survey of the national larder; every item of food is to be carefully recorded as a result of more than three-quarters of a million questionnaires that will be issued through the mails in the coming week. This survey is provided for in the War Emergency bill, and the Bureau of Markets has been commissioned by the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out a big stock-taking campaign in coöperation with other branches of the Department.

AMONG the domestic problems that are awaiting solution is the dispute between the Navy Department and the Shipping Board relative to the question of control to be exercised over merchant vessels. The Navy Department urges that all such vessels should be manned and operated by the navy, while the Shipping Board has placed an obstruction in the way of such a procedure by an agreement made some time ago with the Seaman's Union. According to this plan, the pay and the training of seamen cannot be subjected to governmental control. The question has received a fillip in the findings of the Halifax disaster, where the lack of authority over merchant vessels proved a contributory weakness. The stand taken by the Navy Department is expected to have the attention of Congress at an early date.

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